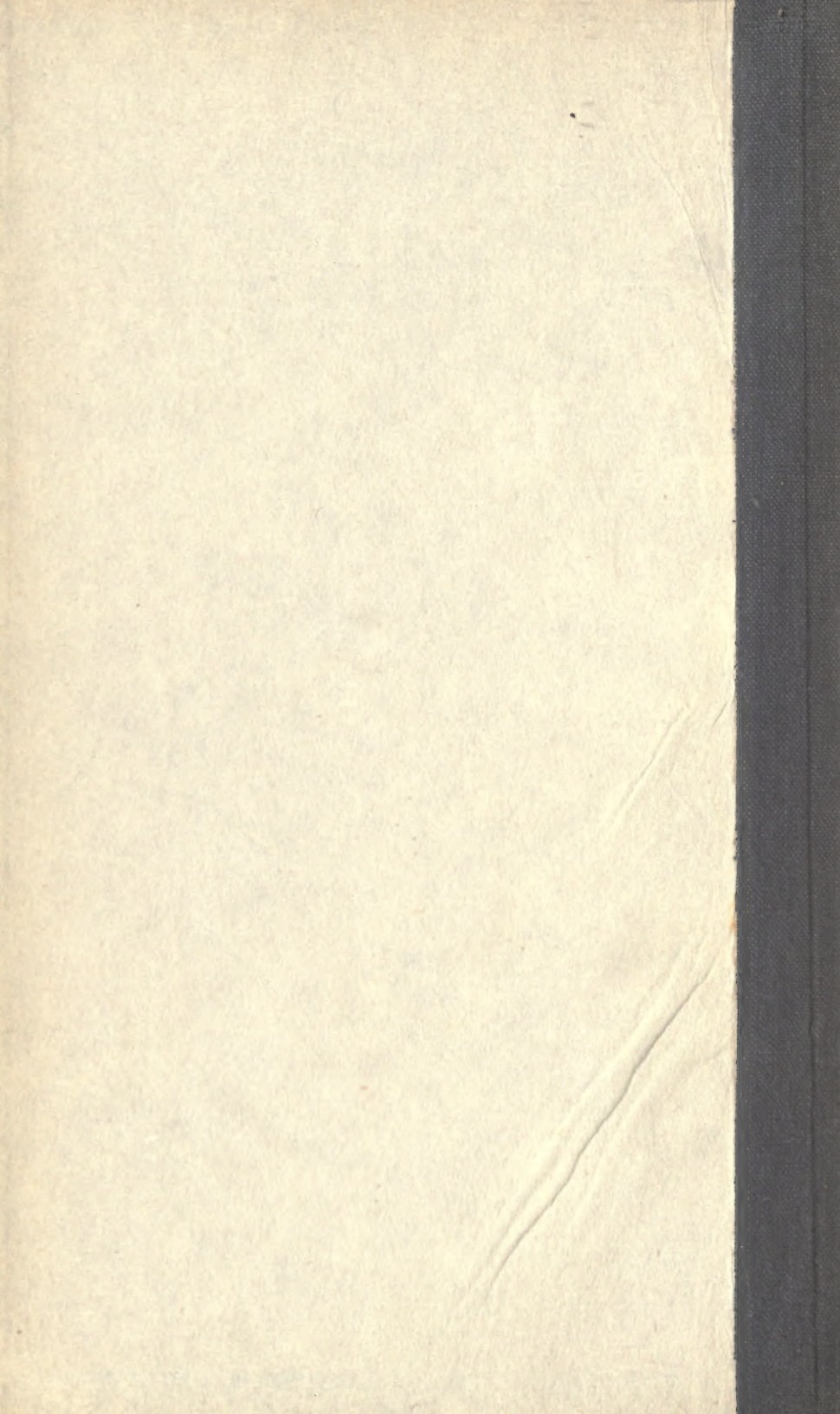
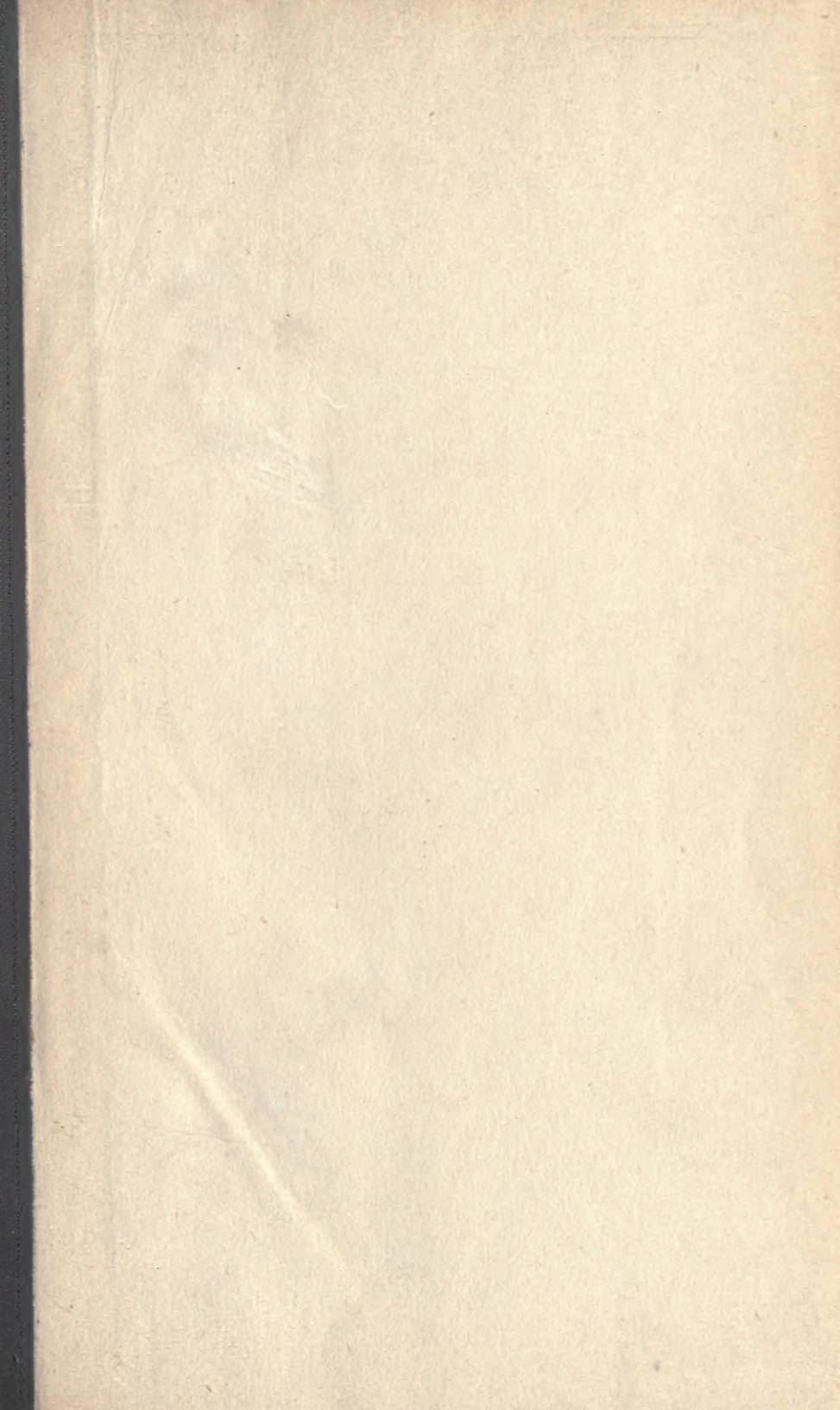


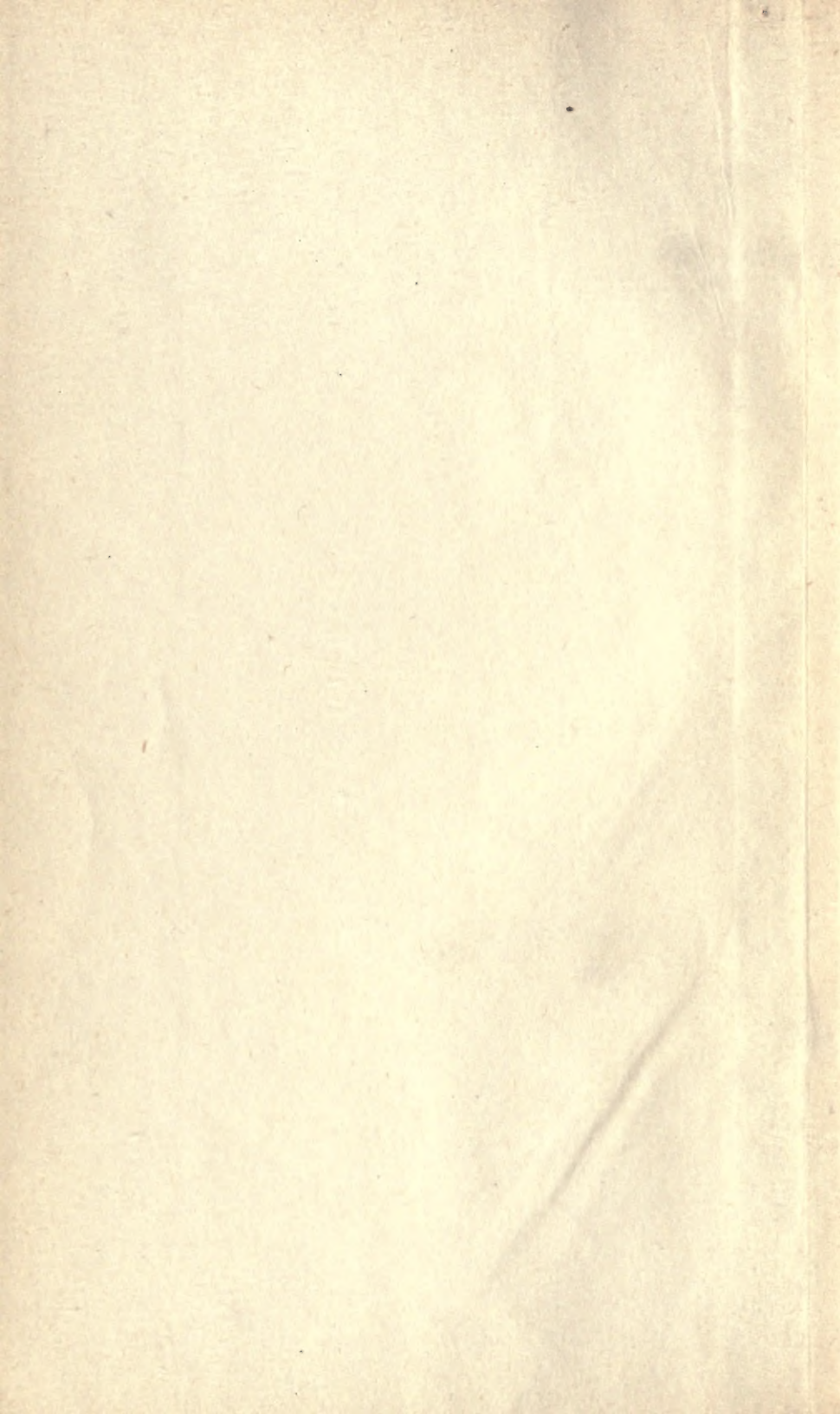
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INSTITUTI RASK-OERSTEDIANI

EDITA

III

HAUNIAE

GYLDENDALSKE BOGHANDEL-NORDISK FORLAG

1922



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# WADI SARGA

COPTIC AND GREEK TEXTS

FROM THE EXCAVATIONS UNDERTAKEN BY THE  
BYZANTINE RESEARCH ACCOUNT

EDITED BY

W. E. CRUM AND H. I. BELL

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON

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HAUNIAE

GYLDENDALSKE BOGHANDEL-NORDISK FORLAG

1922

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ADOLF HOLZHAUSEN  
VINDOBONAE

STRAßE 14

1871



TYPIS ADOLPHI HOLZHAUSEN.  
VINDOBONAE IN AUSTRIA.



TO

B. P. GRENFELL





## PREFATORY NOTE.

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In the present state of Europe, when scientific life is everywhere suffering from divisions, intellectual and economic, consequent upon the war, the Danish Government, realising the duties of a neutral and of a collaborator in the society of nations, deserves our thanks for the creation of the "Rask-Oersted Foundation", whereof the object is to contribute something towards furthering international co-operation in matters scientific. A munificent contribution on the part of the Council of the Foundation and the goodwill of Coptic scholars of various nationalities have made it possible to arrange for the issue of a series of Coptic texts — for the most part unpublished — which will, I trust, be welcomed by that small circle for whom the Coptic language and the additions it has to offer towards our knowledge of early Christianity are of interest.

H. O. Lange.





## PREFACE.

With a few exceptions, the documents collected in this volume were found, along with many other objects, at Wadi Sarga, during the excavation of the site in the winter of 1913—1914 by Mr. R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON for the Byzantine Research Fund; and it is by the kind permission of that body that we are enabled to publish them here. They include: (a) Greek and Coptic ostraca, which form the bulk of the collection, (b) Coptic stelae and *graffiti*, whether left *in situ* or brought to England, (c) Greek and Coptic papyrus and vellum fragments. Since documents of the same class occur on different materials, we have not in our arrangement had regard to the material employed, but have classified the texts according to their character. Only in the case of other materials than potsherds is the material specified. It must be added that the documents here published are only a selection from the whole. We have included all complete texts and not a few fragments; but besides numerous papyrus or vellum scraps, too insignificant to be worth publishing, there are many fragmentary ostraca, some at least of which might perhaps be fitted together, did the results promise to justify the labour which this would entail. Since, however, they seem unlikely to add anything to the evidence of the more complete ostraca, they may safely be neglected, and we hope that the present volume contains all the written or inscribed records found at Wadi Sarga which are of value to historical research. To the documents discovered by Mr. THOMPSON we have been able to add a few found independently, but clearly assignable to the same site.

If the texts here published were not to lose much of their value as historical records it was necessary to add to our commentary some description of the site and of Mr. THOMPSON'S excavations, of which he has been kind enough to give us a brief account for incorporation in our Introduction; but archaeology is not our province, and we have reduced this part of our work to a minimum. It is to be hoped that Mr. THOMPSON will be able later on to produce an archaeological work on the site and the many interesting finds made there, supplementing our volume.

It must be acknowledged that the interest of the present documents is of a somewhat restricted kind. There are no very outstanding texts, nor do the letters, in general, show any of those more vivid or intimate touches seen in several of the papyri or ostraca from other sites, or the legal texts present any points of juristic importance; but there is much topographical material of value, and some useful evidence on metrology, nor are some of the texts, whether Greek or Coptic, wanting in philological interest. The main importance of the collection lies, however, less in details than in its *ensemble*, as presenting a picture of the life and activities of a monastic settlement.

The work of editing the single texts has, naturally, been divided between us according to the language employed; but since documents of the same class were written now in Greek (which, however, is sometimes to be styled Greek only by courtesy) and now in Coptic, no distinction between the two languages has been made in our arrangement, and each of us has read the whole volume, adding notes, where notes suggested themselves, to his colleague's commentary. Throughout the volume the topographical notes are, with very few exceptions, due to CRUM, who has written also section II of the Introduction and compiled the Indexes; BELL is responsible for section IV, on metrology.

For convenience in printing Coptic type has been used throughout, except that in a few of the Coptic texts, where portions are inserted in Greek and in minuscule script, we

have distinguished words so written by the use of Greek type. To facilitate the distinction of Greek from Coptic texts we have given at the beginning a list arranged according to the language employed. In the commentary the numbers of texts included in this volume are printed in *italic* type.

Since we began work on these texts, the Byzantine Research Fund has presented to the British Museum the whole of the material obtained by it in the excavation of Wadi Sarga, including the documents here published, which will be assigned to the appropriate Departments. It has been possible for us to indicate here the inventory numbers given in the Department of MSS. to the few Greek vellum and papyrus fragments and the general number (Or. MS. 9035) given in the Oriental Department to the Coptic ones; but the ostraca (assigned to the Egyptian Department) and stelae (Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities) were not inventoried in time for us to indicate the proper numbers.

In conclusion we desire to express our thanks to the Byzantine Research Fund, and particularly to Sir HERCULES READ and Mr. DALTON, for permitting us to publish these documents; to Dr. H. O. LANGE and the Danish Academy for undertaking the publication; to Prof. W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE for permission to include in the volume the texts of some stelae (nos. 33, 35—38, 42 of our series), of which facsimiles were given in his *Memphis* I, pll. LIII, LIV and *Gizeh and Rifeh*, pll. XLIX, L; to Prof. F. W. KELSEY of the University of Michigan, for placing at our disposal the papyrus here numbered 174; to Mr. R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON for his account of the excavations; and to the Printers for their care and accuracy in setting up the difficult copy.

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## List of the texts according to languages.

### Coptic.

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### Greek.

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## Abbreviations.

Abû Sâlih	= <i>The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt</i> , by EVETTS and BUTLER, Oxford, 1895.
<i>Aeg. Zeit.</i> (or <i>ÄZ.</i> )	= <i>Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache</i> etc.
<i>Al-Tuhfa</i>	= K. il-Tuhfa il-Saniya ... par Ibn il-Gi'an, Cairo, 1898.
<i>Ann. du Serv.</i>	= <i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i> .
<i>Archiv</i>	= <i>Archiv für Papyrusforschung</i> .
<i>BGU.</i>	= <i>Aegypt. Urk. a. d. Kgl. Museen zu Berlin</i> , Griechische Urkunden.
<i>BIF.</i>	= <i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale</i> .
<i>BM.</i>	= <i>Catalogue of the Coptic MSS. in the British Museum</i> .
Balaiza	= Unpublished Coptic papyri brought from Deir Balaiza by FLINDERS PETRIE, 1907, now in the Bodleian.
<i>Baouit</i>	= <i>Le Monastère ... de Baouit</i> , par J. CLÉDAT ( <i>Mém. Inst. Franç.</i> XII).
Budge, <i>Apoc.</i>	= <i>Coptic Apocrypha</i> , London, 1913.
Budge, <i>Mart.</i>	= <i>Coptic Martyrdoms</i> , London, 1914.
Budge, <i>Misc.</i>	= <i>Miscellaneous Coptic Texts</i> , London, 1915.
<i>CO.</i> (or CRUM, <i>Ostr.</i> )	= <i>Coptic Ostraca</i> , by W. E. CRUM, London, 1902.
<i>CSCO.</i>	= <i>Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium</i> , Paris (vol. 41 <i>Vita Sinuthii</i> , LEIPOLDT; voll. 42, 73 <i>Sinuthii Opera</i> , LEIPOLDT; vol. 43 <i>Acta Martyrum I</i> , BALESTRI-HYVERNAT).
DUCANGE	= <i>Glossarium ... mediae et infimae graecitatis</i> .
Elias <i>Apoc.</i>	= <i>Die Apokalypse des Elias</i> , by G. STEINDORFF ( <i>Texte und Unt.</i> , NF. II, 1899).
HALL	= <i>Coptic and Greek Texts</i> , by H. R. HALL, London, 1905.
HENGSTENBERG	= v. p. 24.
<i>Hist. Laus.</i>	= <i>The Lausiaca History of Palladius</i> , by E. C. BUTLER ( <i>Texts and Studies</i> VI).
HORNER	= <i>The Coptic Version of the New Test.</i> [by G. HORNER], Oxford, 1898—1920.
HULTSCH, <i>Metr. Scr.</i>	= F. HULTSCH, <i>Metrologicorum Scriptorum Reliquiae</i> , 2 vols., Teubner, 1864, 1866.



- Ibn Duḡmāk = Parts 4 and 5 of *K. al-Intiṣār* etc., Bulak, AH. 1309.
- KIRCHER = *Lingua Aegyptiaca Restituta*, by A. KIRCHER, Rome, 1643.
- Kopt. Rechtsurk.* = v. KRALL.
- KRALL = *Koptische Texte, Rechtsurkunden*, by J. KRALL (*Corpus Pap. Rainer* II, 1895).
- MIE. = *Mémoires de l'Institut Égyptien*.
- Mél. d'Arch.* = *Mélanges d'Archéologie égyptienne et assyrienne*, Paris, 1873—1876.
- Mél. Or.* = *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale de Beyrouth*.
- MEYER, Ostr. Deissmann = *Ostraca in P. M. MEYER, Griechische Texte aus Agypten*, 1916.
- Miss. franç.* = *Mémoires de la Mission Archéol. Franç. au Caire*.
- Mit. (or Mitth.) Rainer* = *Mittheilungen a. d. Papyrussammlung Erzherzog Rainer*.
- MITTEIS, *Chrest.* = *Grundzüge u. Chrest. d. Papyruskunde*, by L. MITTEIS and U. WILCKEN, 2. Bd., 2. Hälfte, 1912.
- Mus. Guim.* = *Annales du Musée Guimet*.
- Pap. Codex* = *Der Papyruscodex saec. VI—VII* etc., by W. E. CRUM, Straßburg, 1915.
- P. Alex. = *Coptic papyri in the Museum at Alexandria*.
- P. Cairo (or P. Cairo MASP.) = *Papyrus grecs* by J. MASPERO, in the *Cairo Catal. Général*.
- P. Flor. = *Papiri greco-egizii : Papiri Fiorentini*, by A. COMPARETTI and G. VITELLI.
- P. Lips. = *Griechische Urkunden der Papyrussammlung zu Leipzig*, by L. MITTEIS.
- P. Lond. = *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*.
- P. Mon. = *Byzantinische Papyri*, by HEISENBERG and WENGER, Munich, 1914.
- PG. = MIGNÉ, *Patrologia*, Series Graeca.
- P. Oxy. = *Papyri from Oxyrhynchus*, by GRENFELL and HUNT.
- PSI. = *Papiri greci e latini : Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la ricerca dei Papiri greci e latini in Egitto*.
- Patr. Or. (or PO.)* = *Patrologia Orientalis*, Paris.
- PREISIGKE, SB. = *Sammelbuch griech. Urkunden a. Ägypten*, by F. PREISIGKE, 1913, etc.
- RAINER *Mitth.* = v. *Mit.*
- Rec.* = *Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie égyptienne* etc. Paris.

RP.	= <i>Correspondance de St. Pésunthius</i> , by E. REVILLOUT, in <i>Recueil</i> etc. IX, XIV.
ROC.	= <i>Revue de l'Orient Chrétien</i> , Paris.
ROSSI, N. Cod.	= <i>Un Nuovo Codice 'Copto</i> , by F. ROSSI (R. Acc. Linc., Mem., 1893).
ROSSI, Papiri	= <i>I Papiri Copti ... di Torino</i> , by F. ROSSI (R. Acc., Torino, Mem., 1887—1892).
Ryl.	= <i>Catal. of the Coptic MSS. in the J. Rylands Library</i> , Manchester, 1909.
ST.	= <i>Short Texts from Coptic Ostraca and Papyri</i> , by W. E. CRUM, Oxford, 1921.
Saqqara	= <i>Excavations at S.</i> , by J. E. QUIBELL; Coptic Inscriptions by H. THOMPSON, Cairo 1909, 1912.
Sitzb. Wien. Akad.	= <i>Sitzungsberichte d. Kaiserl. Akad. d. Wissensch.</i> Wien, Phil.-hist. Klasse.
TURAIEF, Mater.	= <i>Materialien z. christl. Arch. Ägyptens</i> (Coptic Texts from W. DE BOCK's expedition), Moskow, 1902.
WILCKEN, Grdže.	= v. MITTEIS above.
WILCKEN, Ostr.	= U. WILCKEN, <i>Griechische Ostraka</i> , 1899.
ZDMG.	= <i>Zeitschrift d. Deutschen Morgenländ. Gesellschaft</i> .
ZOEGA	= <i>Catal. Codd. Copticorum</i> , Rome, 1810.

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## Corrigenda.

P. 15,	line 12 from bottom	leg. $\gamma\bar{\iota}\bar{o}$ [
" 20,	" 9 " "	" [rɪ/
" 21,	" 7 " top	" 16 <i>thallia</i>
" 33,	last line	" $\omicron \bar{\iota}\bar{c}$
" 47, no. 17, line 8		" $\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\chi$
" 85, " 87, " 6		" [z]ECT/
" 89, " 93, " 16		" $\eta\rho\pi$
" 91, " 96, " 2		" $\chi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\Delta\epsilon$
" 100, " 109, " 6		" $\pi\omicron\sigma$
" 115, " 128, " 2		" $\rho\pi\eta\gamma\epsilon$
" 118, " 133, " 4		" $\pi\epsilon\iota\chi$
" 123, n. 4		cf. no. 104
" 126, " 149, " 1		" ? $\pi\bar{\iota}\omega\mu\beta\rho(p)\epsilon$
" 140, n. 1		- $\beta\omega\omicron\sigma\lambda\tau$
" 143, " 173, " 4		" $\epsilon\pi\omega\chi$



## INTRODUCTION.

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### I. The Excavations at Wadi Sarga.

By R. Campbell Thompson.

The excavations in which the inscriptions published in this volume were found were carried on on behalf of the Byzantine Research Fund during the winter of 1913—14 at Wadi Sarga, an extensive Coptic site about fifteen miles south of Asyut. I was fortunate in being accompanied for a fortnight by my friend Mr. F. A. RICHARDS, a trained architect, who came out at his own expense and mapped the precincts of this site. The war, however, interrupted his work on this map, and he volunteered early in 1914 for service on the sea: the present map is only a plane-table sketch, for which he is not responsible. As space in this volume is confined to inscriptions, ostraca etc., I have held over my detailed plans of the buildings excavated for inclusion in a fuller publication.

Wadi Sarga is a broad gully in the bare limestone cliffs which flank the valley of the Nile on the west, about a mile distant from the edge of cultivation near the village of Dêr-el-Ganadleh. The wadi itself is from 100 to 300 yards wide, and extends far into the hills; clustered within its mouth and often up both steep flanks for a distance of perhaps a third of a mile up its length lie the remains of what was once a thriving Coptic community. The ancient inhabitants had masked its entrance with

a vallum now only a few feet high jutting out in the form of a rectangle towards the eastern flats, made partly of large rough stones, each in size as much as a man could carry, from the limestone hills. To protect themselves additionally on either slope they had made a rough wall, now consisting of loose stones, skirting the exposed sides of the town on such parts of the crest as demanded such a barrier, leaving intervals only where the rock was sufficiently precipitous to form a natural defence.

Standing at the entrance one looks straight up the wadi for three hundred yards, at which point it turns sharp to the right. On the crest of the left (southern) slope are the ruins of large buildings, and trailing down the side are many small and narrow houses. To the front, two hundred yards up the wadi and astride it, is the imposing mass of brick walls which form the rectangle of what the Arabs call the "*stabl*" or beast-caravanseirai. The right slope of the wadi is packed with little houses, built up the steep side, one above another, with a common stairway leading upwards, and beyond these, on the right of the "*stabl*", is the opening of a large cave running under a spur which juts out from the northern side.

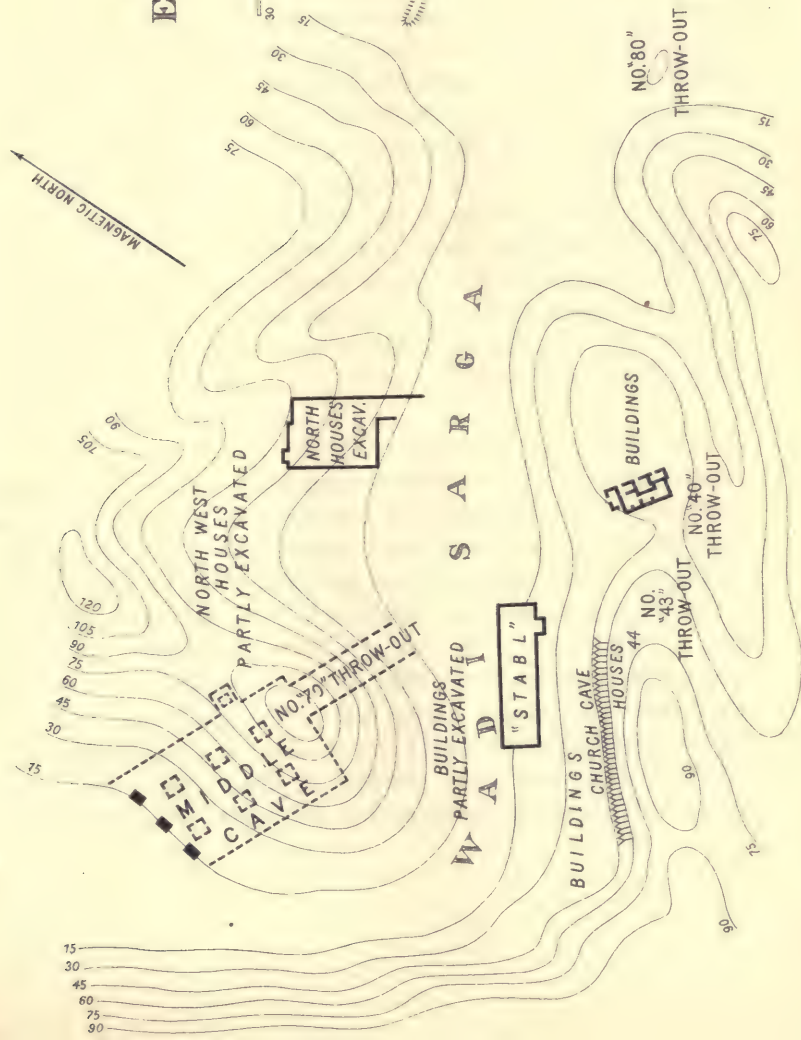
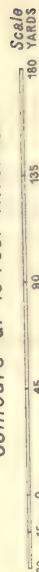
After this first view, proceeding further up the wadi, one sees in the southern ridge, on a kind of second terrace, the "Church" caves of great extent, containing remarkable frescoes of the Lord's Supper.

These are great caverns running far up into the mountain, the rock having been so hewn as to leave columns for the support of the roof. The entrance to the cave is about 15 to 18 yards wide, and the frescoes begin round the eastern corner. Here first are various groups of haloed figures (twenty-two in all), with geometric designs; then follows the main fresco, the Lord's Supper, in the dome. The central figure is Christ at the table with a halo round His head, and wearing a red gown, and He is giving one of the disciples to drink from a golden cup. To the left of Him (to the north) are at least five haloed figures; on the right, including the figure drinking, are three more. Here there is a break of five feet, and then come two figures who may or may not belong to the main picture. There are several

# SKETCH MAP ILLUSTRATING THE BYZANTINE RESEARCH FUND'S EXCAVATIONS AT WADI SARGA.



Contours at 15 feet interval.







more (fifteen in number, and three, perhaps originally four, medallions of heads) round the corner to the south.

Above the caves, outside, up the hill slope, built to the very verge of the abrupt and sheer fall of the cliff are more small houses. Continuing still further up the valley and following its turn to the right, one passes a large brick building on the southern side supported half way up the slope of the hillside by a well-made revetment of large stones, and presently the western entrance of the cave which is mentioned above as running under a northern spur is reached. Then, by following up the wadi which now winds to the left, one meets a third series of caves on the south side. Near here, in one of these caves I found a late Egyptian sculpture of a scene including Antaeus (?) (published in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, 1914, 198), and there were other indications of Egyptian occupation from the excavations, such as a large block of well-squared breccia, and the bones of a crocodile at some considerable distance away up in the hills which was found by my uncle, Mr. FREDERIC THOMPSON, who stayed with me for some days. Still more definite was a late Egyptian cemetery on the fringe of cultivation towards the village of Dêr-el-Ganadleh. On the other hand the diggers found only virgin sand at the foot of the northern slope beneath the Coptic house-levels.

The remains at the foot of the Coptic houses may best be described under three heads: (1.) The Buildings, (2.) The "Throw-outs", (3.) The Cemeteries.

Taking the houses on the north slope of the hill first, I found that the best way to excavate them was to dig from below, gradually ascending the hill side, and filling the lower chambers with the sand thrown out from those above as soon as they had been planned. The houses may be defined as being on at least seven levels as far as I dug them (0 = wadi level, 1 = 7', 2 = 17' 6", 3 = 24', 4 = 36' 5", 5 = 42' 2", 6 = 49' 5") and above this the chambers did not offer much prospect of success.

As a rule the walls in the lowest level ("0") were built on foundations of big rough stones. These walls, and those of the houses above, were made of unburnt brick, and then plastered over with mud and sometimes whitewashed, adorned with frescoes

of saints or, in one case, a lion, and *graffiti*. Several of the chambers had *mastabas* or solid benches adjoining the virgin wall formed by the hillside; and as our finds showed, there had been some attempt to set up small limestone columns. The roofs had rafters of date-palm trunks, and there were ovens in several of the chambers. The ascent up the hillside was made by a kind of public stairway.

The occupants were comfortable, if not wealthy. They used a simple pottery, making amphorae (which they frequently inscribed) which had special stoppers, basins, lamps, wine-cups, etc.; they used a white ware for *oenochorae*, and painted some of the pottery somewhat crudely, the pieces of one vase representing combats obviously in Greek style. They carved the soft limestone decoratively with arabesques or representations of fruit, etc., one of the objects found being a limestone stand for two vessels. They wove cloth well in designs; they wore leather shoes; they made mats of string and palm, baskets, and nets; they ornamented leather, and bound their pot-handles with leather; they had bronze balances, fibulae and crosses; iron hooks and nails; leather bags and water skins; and glass (one piece was a foot, like that of a modern wine-glass). Many were able to write, and there appears to have been a custom of preserving commemorative stelae, which were often found in the ruins of the houses.

We tried an experimental trench near the S. E. corner of the "stabl", and this resulted in our finding a flooring of well-cut limestone slabs. The walls inside had been covered with a whitened plaster, and there seem to have been some small chambers leading out of the main hall(?). We found a large limestone block, 7' 8"  $\times$  11", morticed in in three places.

We also dug out several chambers in various other parts of the wadi, all of which resulted in our finding the same kind of objects as the houses on the north slope provided.

The "throw-outs" afforded most interesting remains, and these within a few inches of the surface. The most important were two (No. "80") at the mouth of the wadi, each about thirty yards long and in places as much as fifteen wide. A foot below surface level was a bed of ashes three feet thick, below which

was earth again. The finds here included 669 ostraca and many papyri and some vellum fragments.

The next best "throw-out" was No. "70" in the large middle cave under the northern spur, from which also came many ostraca. There were two other good refuse-heaps (Nos. "40" and "43", marked on the map) which provided ostraca or other antiquities.

The cemeteries were outside the wadi; the first is near its debouchment, and the second is some little way off, in front of the more modern church near the old Well. I opened between twenty and thirty graves, but found little except the bodies in rough wrappings. These were buried as a rule about five feet below the surface, with their feet to the east in practically every case (the position of the body being usually between 60° and 7° magnetic bearing)(1). A third cemetery near Dêr-el-Ganadleh turned out to be late Egyptian and need not be discussed here.

Perhaps the most striking result of the whole excavation came from a small villa about two miles distant to the north, where were frescoes of Kosmas and Damian, the Holy Children in the Furnace, and a peacock. These have been fully described (2) by O. M. DALTON in *Journ. Egypt. Archaeol.* III, 35.

The objects are for the most part now in the British Museum.

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(1) One was 50° and another 118° E. of N.

(2) Cf. the remarks on p. 13 below.

## II. The Monastic Settlement and its Inhabitants.

By **W. E. Crum.**

The monastery or ascetic settlement, whence our materials come, is not one of those known to the later topographers, such as Abû Şâlih or Makrizi(1). The name of the neighbouring village, Dair al-Ganadlah, indeed implies the existence at one time of a monastery; but there is no explanation of its name which helps us to connect it with the ruins in the Wadi Sarga.

Among our texts and those related to them(2) there are however about a dozen which show us the names whereby the monastery was known in the 6th or 7th centuries. These tell us that it bore the name of "The Holy Monastery of Apa Thomas" (164, 375), "The Monastery of Apa Th." (344), "The Rock (πέτρα) of Apa Th." (Ryl. 289, cf. 124 and 2 unpublished fragments)(3). One letter (96) is addressed to the "archimandrite of the Holy Mount"(4), which may or may not be identical with the Rock of Thomas. But "The Holy Rock (πέτρα)", named in two letters from the neighbouring Dair Balaizah (now in Bodleian), is most

(1) The only monastery (Makrizi's no. 54) bearing the name of Thomas (v. below) in the district is that dedicated to the apostle; moreover it lies too near Siut.

(2) The papyri Ryl. 124, 201 (probably), 289, 294 emanate from our monastery. They appear to have come on to the market of Ashmunain, mixed with the rest of the documents from that neighbourhood. Doubtless others sold there had a like origin.

(3) Several other scraps of papyrus from W. Sarga preserve these words imperfectly.

(4) "Holy Mount" is in Egypt sometimes a designation of Shihêt, or of the White Monastery (Turaief, *Mater.*, no. 53), or merely perhaps of the monastery whence an inscription comes, e. g. on stelæ from Edfu (or Luxor?): V. SCHMIDT, *Den Aegypt. Samling* 1908, no. 810.



probably our monastery.<sup>(1)</sup> What the origin was of this epithet "holy" we know not. The still very tangled legends of the sojourn of the Holy Family in Upper Egypt, of which the Coptic original is but fragmentary<sup>(2)</sup>, although relating to these districts, do not allow of recognizing either of Mary's resting-places so far south of Siut.

Who this Thomas was it has not so far been possible to ascertain<sup>(3)</sup>: presumably the founder of the monastery and presumably also identical with him who heads the group of names conspicuous on so many of our stelae. On these indeed the remaining names are sometimes omitted and "Thomas and his brethren" suffice. That he lived before the period to which our texts belong is evident from "the monastery of Apa Th." being in them an already accepted designation; from the mention of several archimandrites, other than he, who are contemporary with the documents; and from Th. being (apparently) invoked on a stele (73).

(1) Πέτρα, as a particular locality, is found in Egypt in Nitria (*Hist. Laus.*, Butler II, 189, *Mus. Guim.* XXV, 296) and at Siut (*Miss. franç.* IV, 767, Clédat, *Baouit* I, 43). Cf. ? Paris *arabe* 148, f. 305, *hāgir gabal Asyūt*. With this one is tempted, despite difference of genders, to compare one of our unpublished scraps, beginning [ΕΙΟΥΗ2 2ΝΘΑ6ΑΡ Π]. The word *hāgir* is of uncertain meaning; in the *Synaxarium* it varies occasionally with *gabal* (cf. *PO.* III 301 with *ib.* XI 783, Benhodeb, and *ib.* 440 with XI 685, Fargūd, and XI 515 with 519, Erment.) M. Ch. KUENTZ informs me that in Upper Egypt it is "partie rocheuse de la montagne, lisière du désert, non loin des terres cultivés; jamais une partie de la vallée comme une digue" (the meaning given by the dictionaries). Cf. its use in Makrizi's *Monasteries*, nos. 48, 49, 50, 52, 53; also DOZY and KREMER, *Beiträge*, s. v.

(2) Remnants of Timothy's sermon on the church at Koskam, Paris 131<sup>4</sup>, 101—104 and 132<sup>1</sup>, 22 (Ethiopic in *BM. Or.* 604). The place where the Virgin had washed Jesus is there often called "this πέτρα". Cf. *Ryl.* 277 n.

(3) The beginning of a Life of Thomas the anchorite is in the fragment Paris *arabe* 263, f. 111; but from it nothing is to be learnt. Probably a confusion with Th. the apostle, commemorated on the next day (26th Bashans). Another Th. from Ashmunain, commemorated on 21st Hathor, should belong to our neighbourhood; but nothing is known of him. Th. of the Hill (monastery) of Shensifi (Cairo *Absaliyat*, 1913, p. ϕης) is presumably Shenoute's contemporary (*Miss.* IV 465). It is indeed a considerable assumption to suppose our abbot had attained a place in the *Synaxarium*.

This group: Thomas, Peter, Joseph, Anoup, Pamoun, with Germanus and Justus added thrice each and finally Enoch once (51), occurs in some 13 texts (stelae and ostraca), among the saints invoked. Either it follows the more renowned names, or it stands alone (39, 41, 59), no one besides being invoked. The names it comprises have not been found thus grouped together except at Wadi Sarga; it may therefore be assumed that they were honoured only here, forming perhaps the *proprium* of the local liturgy (1). But whether we are to see in them a group of contemporaries, or a sequence of successive officials (2) it is hard to say. Examples of each of the names can indeed be adduced from our documents and we have evidence of officials named Pamoun, Germanus, Justus and Enoch (3) as contemporaries with the texts which mention them. If we took these to be the very dignitaries invoked upon the stelae, we should have to assume the latter to be of later date than the ostraca and papyri.

When did Thomas live? In this question is involved an interesting fact only recently noticed. The invaluable palimpsest, from which Sir HERBERT THOMPSON has edited the Sa'idic texts of Joshua etc., bears upon its last page (4) a subscription consisting merely of four names: Apa Thomas, Apa Peter, Apa Joseph and Apa Mena. It can scarcely be coincidence that the first three of these should be identical with the first three names in the group we have been discussing. The vellum MS., which was re-used in Nitria to write Syriac texts in the 10th century, had doubtless been acquired by the monks of Dair es-Suriyān, indirectly perhaps, from our monastery at Wadi Sarga. The last of the names, Mena, may be that of an abbot — if abbots they be — passed

(1) Cf. the local worthies — abbots etc. — commemorated in the liturgical MSS. from the White Monastery, or upon the stelae from Saqqara.

(2) If officials, were they abbots? Cf. HALL p. 143, where a stele invokes "the stewards" (οἰκονόμοι), instead of the usual "great men" = abbots.

(3) Assuming P. to be = Apa Amoun in Ryl. 294. G. is prior in 344 (perhaps he had been the abbot's representative in Ryl. 289). J. is prior in Ryl. 201 and very likely abbot in 94, 102, 103, 113 (perhaps our monastery under his name, KRALL CCXLII, 33); while Enoch, the oft named steward, may have become abbot subsequently (95, cf. 169, 171).

(4) *A Coptic Palimpsest*, 1911, p. 372. Cf. BM. no. 12.







over for reasons unknown by that subsequent generation to which we owe our stelae; or he may be the scribe of the MS., who here commemorates three of his predecessors.

If, then, we could arrive at a date for the writing of this MS., we might hazard an approximate date for the foundation of the monastery by Abbot Thomas. Palaeographical considerations alone can help us and these point to the first half of the 7th century as the probable time of writing(1). Thomas may therefore have lived somewhat before the year 600. Fragments of other vellum books found (v. Plate I) show hands which date from at least the 4th century; but the books brought together in a library may well have been written long before that library was formed. The coins again, found among the ruins, are from the middle and latter part of the 6th century (Justinian to Maurice), some from the latter part of the 7th (early Ommayyads); while the name Heraclius, borne by the writer of a letter (116), recalls the same period. Finally, scraps of Greek-Arabic "protocols", of 8th century type, and the beginning of an official letter in Arabic from Kurrah b. Sharik (governor AD. 708—714) allow us to suppose the monastery still inhabited in his day (2). Presumably it was laid waste and abandoned during one or other of the subsequent Muslim persecutions.

Of what type was the monastic settlement at Wadi Sarga? Was it organized as a *coenobium*, with common dwellings and central church, refectory etc.; or did the community consist of hermits, inhabiting separate cells and caves and meeting periodically at the common church?(3). On this problem the remains

(1) Hyvernat, quoted by THOMPSON, *l. c.*, p. VI. Cf. also *ZDMG.* 65, 853.

(2) The following is the text of his letter, the phrases in which may be compared with the Arabic headings to nos. 1362 and 1378 of P. Lond. IV (Aphrodito): —  
 بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ | أَمِنْ قَرَّةِ بْنِ شَرِيكٍ إِلَى أَهْلِ شَمٍّ | فَأَعْطُوا  
 لِبَنِيَّانِ دَارِ أَمِيرِ الْيَوْمِ | نَمِينَ الْيَحْنَسِ بْنِ حَنْظَلَةَ سِتَّةً | فَإِنْ أَعْطَيْتُمْ  
 [ ] | الْإِجْرَ. *Verso*, an endorsement: ΙΩΧΗΦ ΑΡΘ<sup>Λ</sup> Τ... ΑΡ<sup>Τ</sup> — On  
 Johannes (*sic* here) b. Ḥanḍalah v. El-Kindi, *Governors* etc., ed. GUEST, p. 65; cf.  
 C. H. BECKER, *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt* I, p. 19. The place-name in l. 2 is  
 obscure, the شى being quite uncertain.

(3) Moschus, in the 6th century, found the monks of one community in this

of many small houses, clustered upon the N. side of the wadi, offer no conclusive evidence. Who dwelt in them: monks or villagers? Nothing helps us to decide. The words for "cell" chance to occur but rarely (1), nor are their precise meanings yet sufficiently clear to support argument.

We learn however (from Ryl. 124) that the superior of the Rock of Apa Thomas bore the title of archimandrite, a dignity which was used by the abbots of most of the principal monasteries in Egypt — those of Nitria apparently excepted — and which, in such cases, implied a *coenobium* and not a *laura*, or colony of anchorites. The superior is also called "father" (of the monastery), as elsewhere (2); or "the great man" (Ryl. *l. c.*). The archimandrite himself acts as party to a contract (161), or sends orders for provisions required (87), just as the steward does elsewhere (89). The latter is oftenest the author of such documents: he orders deliveries of wine (110, 177, 178), of other victuals (181), the fattening of pigs (probably, 107), the supplying of passing sailors' needs (104). He pays for wine received (167, 168), or gives receipts for delivery (188, 192). Or receipts are issued by the council (δίκαιον) of the monastery (344)(3). Besides these two officials the prior is sometimes found acting for the community (375, Ryl. 201), in one case with the *deuterarius* as colleague. From 111 we might assume that a bishop dwelt in this, as occasionally in other monastic communities(4). On the

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district, 6 miles from Siut, living some in cells, others in caves. (PG. LXXXVII, 3028 C).

(1) ρ1 in 153, **ΜΛ ΝΩΩΠΕ** in 100, 101 (*lit.* "dwelling", sometimes = ἀσκητήριον, *Vit. Pachom.* § 13, = *Mus. Guim.* XVII 28; sometimes the convent as a whole, *Mus. Guim.* XVII 32).

(2) In cases where the steward (οἰκονόμος) receives orders from "So-and-so, his father" (95 etc.), we may assume that the abbot is the person thus designated. Whether Enoch, when calling himself "father" (169, 171), is still but steward, may be questioned. Cf. 376, where the writer calls himself the steward's "son".

(3) In Ryl. 124 the archimandrite of our monastery, in *ib.* 201 the prior, represents the δίκαιον. Cf. P. Lond. II p. 325, where the prior represents the δίκαιον (7th cent.). A small papyrus fragt. shows a document beginning **ΠΚΕ-ΦΑΛΛΙΟΝ ΠΤΠΕΤΡΑ Π**. Is this equivalent to κεφαλαιωταί?

(4) CO. p. XIII; v. also BUDGE, *Apoc.* 112, Rossi, *Papiri* I, 3, 17 ff.

other hand, the bishop of Sbeht-Apollinopolis, presumably diocesan of our monastery, resided at Sbeht, if we may judge by 375. The monks collectively are "the brethren" (103, 190); individually, the term "my brother" is, as elsewhere, used where we should say "brother So-and-so". Those distinguished as anchorites are rare (117).

Business relations were maintained with communities of nuns (159, 168, 170, Ryl. 124, perhaps *ib.* 201), located, we may suppose, close by. Indeed 38 and 65 show that nuns were allowed memorial tablets (in the church?), like the brethren.

As to the property of the monastery we learn nothing definite. Among Coptic documents from other monastic sites, none are concerned so largely as ours with traffic in wine(1) (v. especially the Receipts, 205 ff.). Of the score or so of places whence wine appears to have been brought, those identifiable which occur oftenest are either in the Hermopolite nome (Thallou, Phouêu), or north of it (Plebiôw, Tahrouj, Touhô); some in the latitude of the Fayyûm (Hnês-Heracleopolis, Tiloj). Vines and traffic in wine are often enough the subject of 6th and 7th century documents from Middle Egypt, but they are very rarely mentioned in those from the south(2) and it is noticeable that no place south of Wadi Sarga has been identified among those named in our texts. From whom the wine was obtained we do not learn. In 95 we read of "the camelherds of master Serapion" and their accounts (*lit.* potsherds). Presumably he was a wine grower with whom the monastery dealt. From expressions used in 93, 106, we might suppose the wine to have been sometimes sent from the monastery to the cultivated valley, in exchange for fodder. 373 shows that the camelherds were, in some cases at least, monks. The wine finally reached the monastery by camel, but we hear

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(1) Excepting perhaps the Menas shrines, whose ostraca published by DRERUP (*Griech. Ostraka von den Menas-Heiligtümern, Röm. Quartalschr.*, 1908, pp. 240—257), are largely orders for payments of wages, or allowances to *πατηταί* or *τρογγηταί*.

(2) P. Lond. II, p. 326, Edfû; Hall p. 41, presumably Thebes; CRUM, *Short Texts* 396, 426, ditto. Otherwise Aphrodito is the most southern place where in this period wine growing is recorded.



of it occasionally loaded on shipboard for the preliminary voyage southward (135 and? 133).

Wine in various conditions — perhaps of various qualities — is mentioned: "old" (91, 303), "new" (186), "pure" (καθαρόν, 377) and others of doubtful meaning (186); also one perhaps especially reserved for the abbot (92, 186)(1). No conclusions can be drawn as to the flocks possibly owned by the monastery from the reference to shepherds in 106 though the frequent occurrence of bills for cheese (196 ff.) may be better evidence of this; nor as to cultivated land from the list of husbandmen in 158, or the "chief husbandman" (if that be the correct rendering) in 167.

Conspicuously absent from our texts are certain features familiar in other, similar collections of private documents. No communications from local magistrates, no disciplinary admonitions from the ecclesiastical authorities, although all the writers appear to be clergy or monks; the piously worded begging letter, whereby one hermit recommends the mendicant to the charity of another, is unrepresented; likewise the empty salutations and requests for prayers. This state of things may of course be due to chance destruction, to mere accidents of exploration, or partly to peculiarities in the situation of the monastery. It may too be noted that ostraca, as writing material, seem to have been less in fashion at Wadi Sarga than they were further south; literary texts, biblical or patristic, are but rarely written upon them here. It is remarkable that at neither of the neighbouring sites, Balaizah or Aphrodito, were any ostraca found; we must suppose that papyrus was there still easily procurable. Conditions at Wadi Sarga may have been similar.

A few words may be said respecting the idiom in which our Coptic texts are written. Apart from chance traces of extraneous dialects (v. 1 and 15), the literary fragments show a Sa'idic of exemplary purity (2). The documents likewise (though

(1) In a wine account from Balaizah "the great man's (the abbot's) table" is specially provided for.

(2) Perhaps the language of the Joshua Palimpsest (v. above), as coming from Wadi Sarga, should be here taken into consideration. Cf. THOMPSON'S observations, *op. cit.* p. IX, and the review above referred to.

not the stela<sup>e</sup>) use in general a quite correct orthography, the occasional doubling of  $\pi$ , or omission of  $\iota$  where  $\epsilon$  are required (e. g. 116, 132, 176, 178, 323), or of the  $\pi$ -genit. (130, 157) and now and then of the prep.  $\epsilon$ - or a confusion of  $\nu$  and  $\chi$  (notably in 112  $\epsilon\chi\omicron\lambda$ , 164  $\epsilon\chi\omicron\tau$ , 197 etc.  $\chi\iota\tau$ ), being almost the only characteristics worth recording. The opening formula of the letters shows indeed a form very commonly found in texts from the Hermopolite neighbourhood, but not frequent in those from the district S. of Siut and closer to W. Sarga, namely the prefix  $\pi\chi$ - ( $\pi\epsilon$   $\epsilon\chi$ - in 187). There are a dozen instances of this as against two only (86, 186) of  $\pi\epsilon\tau$ - and three of  $\epsilon\chi$ - (99, 185, 344). The businesslike character of our documents may be seen in the unusual dearth of those complimentary phrases which adorn the letters from other sites. Without exception ours serve a practical purpose: their writers omit all empty phraseology (1). The vocabulary in use is generally that of Hermopolis, i. e. of Middle Egypt; an exception such as  $\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\chi\epsilon$ - $\mu\alpha\tau\iota\omicron\nu$ , otherwise peculiar to the Theban neighbourhood (2), being almost unique.

The only product of the excavations at Wadi Sarga hitherto published (excepting the stela<sup>e</sup> from Dair al-Ganadlah; v. below) is the fresco of Cosmas and Damianus reproduced and fully described by Mr. Dalton in *Journ. Eg. Arch.* III, 35. Nothing need therefore be said of it here except to propose a different reading of the place-name in the text which accompanies the picture. Instead of  $\tau\chi\omicron\gamma\iota\omicron\tau$ , Siût, a most unlikely form of that familiar name, it seems better to read  $\tau\chi(\mu)\omicron\gamma\lambda\omicron\tau$  Samalût, the town several times occurring in our texts (v. 239 n.). The reading of the letters  $\pi$  and  $\lambda$ , though clumsily formed, can hardly be in doubt. The "three score martyrs" however are brought no nearer to identification by this revision in the name of their place of origin or martyrdom.

(1) Perhaps 100, 106 go farthest in this respect. The nature of 109 comports a somewhat less dry style.

(2) Once used by Shenoute, *CSCO.* 42, 83.



### III. Greek Papyri. Linguistic and Palaeographical Notes.

By H. I. Bell.

Though all the papyri discovered on the site were very fragmentary, those written in Greek were particularly so, and none of these scraps is worth publishing in full. In this section are collected, however, the more interesting points, whether names or noteworthy phrases, found in them. The handwriting of most of the fragments, and in several cases the character of the entries, recalling the Aphrodito accounts of P. Lond. IV, point to a date not earlier than the 7th century for the majority of the Greek scraps and, more often than not, to the period after the Arab conquest of Egypt. The hands are generally of the "minuscule" type seen in the Aphrodito accounts, but instances of the larger, more sloping cursive used in 6th—7th cent. contracts, and less definitely characteristic of a post-Arabic date, occur. These fragments, it should be added, are now all mounted in the Department of MSS., British Museum, with the inventory number Pap. 2241.

Fragments of account-books in various minuscule hands are frequent and seem largely to concern taxation, whether in money or in kind; in one or two cases the purpose of the requisitions is specified, *e. g.* ΑΠ/ ΤCΥΜΒ· (qu. *δαπάνης τοῦ συμβούλου*? for *σύμβουλος* as the Arab Governor see P. Lond. IV *passim*; possibly however ΤCΥΜΒ[ΟΥΛΟΥ, Samalūt); ]Θ ΙΔ/ S (= *χι*!) ΔΑΠΑΝΗ[. An entry S κεφλ οήύ! recalls the series of accounts P. Lond. IV 1426 ff. (see introduction to 1426 and p. 171; WILCKEN, *Grdzge.* p. 236; BELL, *Journ. Eg. Arch.* IV, p. 95); and Α]ΗΜΟCΙΘ may be land-tax, as in P. Lond. IV (p. 170). For S ΤΙΤΛΩ/ ΑΡΘ ΗΟ[ and (next line) S ΤΙΤΛΩ ΠΡΕ..[ see PREISIGKE, *Fachwörter*, s. v. *τίτλος*, etc. ΑΗΔ[ may be *ἀνδρισμός*; and S προC-φορ<sup>(H)</sup>P<sup>(H)</sup> is also worthy of mention.

Other entries in the accounts worth noting are one or two references to χέρτ(ος), measured not, as often, by the aroura, but by the artaba; and † έμο(ίως) ει(ς) τ(ους) αὐτ(ους) ὄρμου(ς).

Place-names are ει(ς) τ(ὸ) έπο(ίχισιν) Ψ'ιμ[, which is perhaps to be taken as Ψ'ιμ[ανωβετ], a personal name at Aphrodito in the 6th century (see P. Lond. V, index 2) and the name of a τῶπος there (in the form Ψ'ιβανωβετ) in the 8th (see P. Lond. IV, index 4[b]); ]ωθ απο παροβ κ (= έπέρ) η[; κ τοπ νεογ[ (or νεγ[); ]λιψ παροῶ (see 121, 2, note, and references there) S ΓΗΔ·[; ] . απ κτημτ παλμ πατε[ρμoγoιoγ?; απ<sup>ο</sup> περτ/ (apparently not τερτ/, *i. e.* one of the various place-names beginning Τέρτον; cf. Pertob in 157) ε[. The few personal names offer nothing calling for comment, but κ παλμ πoητιῶ may be noted. Titles which occur are βοηθ/, κάμαλ/ (several times repeated), and the Coptic πασον in Greek script. More noteworthy, for their Byzantine official associations, are ? φοιβ]αμ/ τριβογη/ and πριμικιρ/ (several times).

There are only a few fragments of contracts. One, a scrap of brown papyrus, in a small upright cursive hand, not likely to be much, if at all, later than the end of the 6th century, is from a διαλυσις (ll. 2—4, ΤΗΣ ΔΙΑΛΥΣΕΩΣ ΠΕΡΙ Τ[Ε ΧΤΛ. ΔΟΛΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΦΟΒΟΥ ΚΑΙ Β[ΙΑΣ ΧΤΛ. | ΕΚΟΥΣΙΑ ΗΜΩΝ ΓΗΦ[ΜΗ ΧΤΛ.]. Another, a scrap of light-coloured papyrus in a big sprawling cursive hand with rather thick strokes, of the late 6th or early 7th century, has in l. 2 the words ] θαλλῶ τογ ερ[μoπoλιτoγ νομoγ?, in l. 3 the name ἰωαννῶ γιοῶ]. A third, in a 7th century hand of minuscule type, may be a receipt [l. 2, ? κατ]α-σπαρῶ ἐπὶ καρπῖ β ἰνδ. κ. [

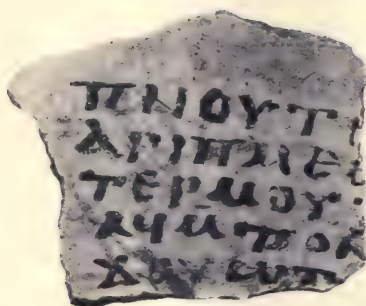
It will be seen that the Greek fragments contribute exceedingly little to our knowledge of the monastic settlement, but they serve, along with the Arabic fragments, to extend its history into the Arab period. That the fragments of contracts suggest pre-Arab, and the fragments of accounts Arab, times, is presumably accidental; but it may be the case that the settlement was more severely taxed after the conquest than before.

The scripts of the Greek ostraca include several which are of the "minuscule" type; but this is not of a late cha-

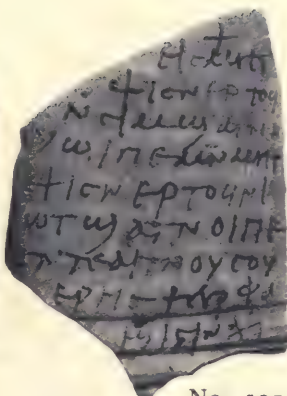
racter, and the great majority are in uncial hands, with few or no ligatures. A large number of the receipts are in a single hand, an upright rounded uncial, extremely neat and regular and sometimes almost calligraphic (an example on Plate II). Putting aside the minuscule hands, one would be tempted to date these ostraca "circa 600"; and even when we include the minuscule script there seems no reason, on palaeographical grounds, to bring down the lower limit of date much, if at all, after the Arab conquest. A very similar conclusion is suggested by the Coptic hands. There is a considerable variety of these, upright and sloping, regular and hasty, smaller and larger; but for the most part they seem to fall within comparatively narrow limits of time and that time contemporary with the Greek ostraca. One or two show a thick, heavy upright uncial hand of liturgical type (Plate II), which might be, but is not necessarily, later than the rest.

On the whole, and adding the testimony of the coins found at Wadi Sarga, which range from Justinian to Maurice, we shall probably not be far wrong in fixing a period from the latter part of the 6th to about the middle of the 7th century as the date of these records. The Arabic scrap mentioning Kurrāh and perhaps the Greek accounts on papyrus bring the lower limit down to the early 8th century. The literary MSS., Greek and Coptic, some of which probably date from a period not later than the 5th century, while one (17) is probably of the 4th (v. Plate I), may push back the earlier limit; but literary MSS., which were often kept for a long period of time, and which, in this case, may well have been written elsewhere and brought to the settlement after its foundation, cannot be used to fix for it a *terminus a quo*.

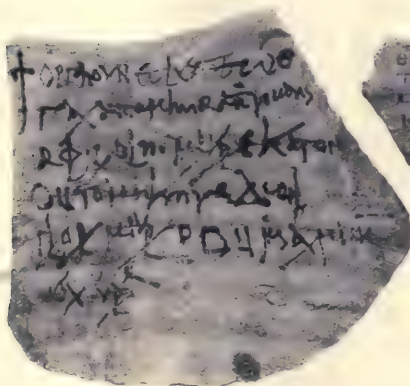
That the language of the settlement was Coptic, and that the majority, perhaps all, of the inhabitants possessed only the merest smattering of Greek, is established by several pieces of evidence. Such is the great preponderance of Coptic over Greek liturgical and theological MSS.; such the use of Coptic, not Greek, in all the letters and contracts discovered at Wadi Sarga; such, finally, the character of the documents in which Greek



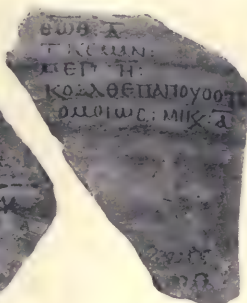
No. 63 (part)



No. 191



No. 346



No. 280

Scale roughly 1:4





was employed and the quality of the Greek there found. Greek, outside of one or two theological MSS., is almost, if not entirely, confined to receipts, accounts and mathematical tables. Greek was of course the language of mathematics, and alike in the tables and in the accounts (where the use of Greek in all taxation accounts, even under the early Arab Governors, would influence local usage) the knowledge of the language required was of the slightest; while in the receipts (where again the use of Greek was probably due to its employment in tax-receipts) the range of words and phrases which occur is extremely narrow.

Even so, the scribes of these ostraca, not excluding those who write a good and accomplished hand, show at every turn how very limited was their knowledge of Greek. The erratic spelling (*e. g.*  $\alpha\chi\rho\iota\varsigma\gamma\mu\alpha\chi\omicron\varsigma$ , 206;  $\Upsilon\psi\eta\mu\alpha^T$ , 210;  $\mu\epsilon\kappa/$  for  $\mu\iota\lambda(\rho\acute{\alpha})$ , 248, etc.;  $\Gamma\alpha\mu\iota\alpha/$  for  $\kappa\alpha\mu\acute{\eta}\lambda(\iota\alpha)$ , 297;  $\varsigma\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\varsigma$  for  $\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma\iota\alpha$  and  $\tau\rho\iota\alpha\upsilon\tau\epsilon$  for  $\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$  in 358;  $\epsilon\kappa\chi\eta\iota\tau\alpha\ \varsigma\eta\kappa\epsilon$  for  $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\eta\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$   $\acute{\epsilon}\xi$  and  $\epsilon\Upsilon\mu\eta\eta\iota\tau\alpha$ .  $\varsigma\epsilon\eta\eta\epsilon\alpha$  for  $\acute{\epsilon}\beta\delta\omicron\mu\acute{\eta}\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$   $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\epsilon\alpha$  in 372 (1); the regular use of  $\kappa\alpha\mu\alpha\lambda/$  for  $\kappa\alpha\mu\eta\lambda\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$ ); the heroic disregard of inflections (*e. g.*  $\varsigma\kappa\epsilon\Upsilon\alpha$  for  $\sigma\kappa\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\eta$  in 348;  $\kappa\omega\eta\iota\varsigma\tau\alpha\iota\tau\iota\omicron\varsigma$  for  $\tau\iota\varsigma$  in 369) and syntactical construction; the use of Coptic forms of proper names, like  $\varsigma\omega\rho$ ,  $\iota\omega\varsigma\alpha\mu\eta\eta\eta\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\mu\alpha\kappa\alpha\rho\epsilon$ , and of actual Coptic words, like the title  $\pi\alpha\varsigma\omicron\mu\iota$  or  $\eta\epsilon\rho\omega\mu$  (205); and still more, perhaps, the occasional attempts to inflect Greek words on Coptic principles (see, *e. g.*, 248, 1, note) — all these phenomena reveal clearly the presence of writers who, though they had a smattering of Greek, thought at all times rather in Coptic and possessed, probably, a Greek vocabulary limited to the most necessary words.

These facts have a wider significance than may at first appear. It is impossible to study the Greek papyri of the 6th and 7th centuries without realizing that Greek was rapidly decaying in Egypt. The position may have been more favourable in the more cultivated metropoleis, like Oxyrhynchus, and still more in such centres of Hellenic culture as Ptolemais or Alexandria; but elsewhere (*e. g.* in the Syene papyri of P. Mon. and P. Lond. V)

(1) Cf. however A. KIRCHER, *Lingua Aegyptiaca Restituta*, p. 66, from which it appears that such forms were well established in the Coptic period. Coptica. III.

it is difficult to find a scribe who could successfully negotiate a sentence of any length or complexity, while even at Oxyrhynchus or Antinoopolis the Greek used not only in letters but even in contracts was often very incorrect. Add to this the very large proportion of parties to contracts, even among the well-to-do, who are described as illiterate (which may sometimes mean merely that they could not write *Greek*), the increasing tendency to make use of Coptic not only in correspondence and theological literature, but even in legal transactions, and such facts as the inability of high ecclesiastics like Bishop Abraham of Hermonthis to understand Greek (P. Lond. 77, 69), and we may reasonably conclude that Greek was maintained in Egypt during the late Byzantine period largely, if not entirely, by the authority of the Government and its use as the legal and administrative language. That factor once removed with the Arab conquest, its ultimate extinction was assured, though the necessity which the Arabs felt of maintaining for a time the old Greek-trained and Greek-writing bureaucracy kept it in a sort of suspended animation for a century. The Wadi Sarga ostraca derive, for the Greek papyrologist, much of their interest from the illustrations which they furnish of the gradual death of Greek as a living language in the Egyptian χώρα.

## IV. Metrology.

By H. I. Bell.

A noticeable feature of these texts, as of others at this date, is the number of measures, often unfamiliar or difficult to determine, which occur in them; and it seems well to bring these together in a separate section of the Introduction, though it is impossible to determine the capacity or the mutual relation of most of them. Often indeed it seems probable that the terms used refer not to ideal, standard, quantities, but to concrete vessels; so that the juxtaposition of various measures does not furnish a basis for relating them to one another. Thus, in 320, 2 we get 40 μικρά placed before 14 μεγάλα, an order which could hardly have been adopted had the μικρόν been a quotient of the μέγα; and hence, when we find, e. g., in 294, 48 μεγάλα followed by 34 μικρά we cannot conclude that the μέγα contained more than 34 μικρά, as, in the case of coins, we could infer from the sum νομίσματα ε κεράτια κγ that the solidus contained over 23 carats. This conclusion seems to hold good even of the accounts, 122 and following, which at first sight might appear to furnish data for determining the mutual relations of the ἔργον, φορά, and κνίδιον. So at least we may infer from the numbers which occur. Thus, in 122, 1 we get 717 κνidia following 65 of another measure, probably phorai, and it seems quite unlikely that the next highest measure to the κνιδιον contained over 717 of the latter. In 122, 14, 17, again, we get 46 phorai and in 123, 13 even 334 phorai; and since the phorai in these accounts are frequently preceded by ἔργον, which, from their position, might be expected to be the next measure, this should mean that the ἔργον contained over 334 phorai, a most improbable supposition.

It is in fact probable, as stated, that in most, perhaps all, cases it is not ideal quantities but concrete vessels with which we are dealing; and if that is so there is no sure ground for

establishing a ratio between one measure and another. All that can be attempted here is to give a list of the less familiar measures which occur, with some notes on the evidence concerning each.

1. Ἀσκαλῶνιον. For measures of this kind see 196, note, MEYER, Ostr. Deissmann 65 introd. and references there, WILCKEN, *Grdzeige*. LXXI f., *Archiv*, VI 400 f., etc., and for the ἀσκαλῶνιον in particular WILCKEN, *Archiv*, V 297. See also B. M., index of Greek words. In the present volume it occurs as a measure of cheese (196, 198, 203) and apparently also of wine (237, where 2 ἀσκαλῶνια follow 88 μικρά of wine; 275, where 56 ἀσκαλῶνια follow 20 μεγάλα). There is here no evidence as to its capacity, except that it was clearly different from both the μέγα and the μικρόν.
2. ΓΑΜΙΑ/. See καμήλιον.
3. Θαλλίον. See DUCANGE, s. v.; *Apophth. Patrum* (MIGNE, P. G. 65, 92 B), Τσσαῦτα ἔτη ἔμεινε μεθ' ἡμῶν, καὶ μόνον θαλλὴν σίτου ἐποιεῦμεν αὐτῷ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, with note there, *Vita Arsenii*, θαλλίον ἐν σίτου· δεῖ γὰρ τοῖς πατρικοῖς τούτοις ὀνόμασι χρῆσασθαι. As pointed out in the introduction to 205, it is in these texts and apparently elsewhere frequently used along with artabae of corn in a way suggesting that 1 θαλλίον = 2 artabae, though there are difficulties in this view. It is well therefore to collect the instances in the present volume: — In 189, where the Coptic invoice has “24 sacks (σοογνε) of corn”, the Greek recapitulation has θαλλία χδ, thus showing that in this case at all events θαλλίον = σοογνε. Now in 187 we have “36 sacks (σοογνε) of corn, making a total of four score and five artabae”, with Greek recapitulation, [γι/ θαλλ/] λς: ci/ αρ<sup>T</sup>/ πε. Here therefore 36 *thallia* = 85 artabae, giving the equation 1 *thallion* = (approximately)  $2\frac{1}{3}$  artabae. In 190 the text gives the sum of 148 artabae of corn, while below, after a space, occurs the amount ΘΑΛΛ/ χη. If the last entry is a recapitulation, the ratio 1 *thallion* = 2 artabae again breaks down; but this is not certain. In 200 we have 32 *thallia* of dates. In 205—208 we have receipts with the formula θαλλ(ία) x ci(του) (ἀρτάβα:) γ; and here the ratio is throughout 1 *thallion* =



2 artabae. In 306 we have 41 *thallia* of dates, in 316 22 of the same, in 340 26 of an article the name of which is lost, in 360  $\theta\alpha\lambda(\lambda\iota\alpha) \iota\varsigma$  with no article preceding (the article from the second place named is 18 artabae of corn), in 361 10 *thallia* of an unspecified article, following  $\gamma\alpha\mu\iota\lambda(\iota\alpha) \theta$ , perhaps implying that 10 *thallia* = 9 camel-loads, in 362 10 *thallia* following a lost number of camel-loads, in 365  $\sigma\iota(\tau\omicron\upsilon) [\acute{\alpha}] \rho[\tau(\acute{\alpha}\beta.)] \rho\beta$  —  $\theta\alpha\lambda\lambda(\iota\alpha) \nu\beta$  (1 *thallion* = 2 artabae), in 367 an uncertain number of *thallia* of barley, in 368  $\theta\alpha\lambda\lambda\iota\alpha \mu\delta \sigma\iota(\tau.) \acute{\alpha}\rho\tau(\acute{\alpha}\beta.) \pi\eta$  (1 *thallion* = 2 artabae), and in 370 12 *thallia* of vegetable seed, followed by a statement which appears to mean that 9 *thallia* = 6 camel-loads.

We may probably conclude that  $\theta\alpha\lambda\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$  properly means a basket or sack (the  $\theta\alpha\lambda\lambda\iota\nu$  appears to have been originally a basket made of palm leaves; DUCANGE, *s. v.*  $\theta\alpha\lambda\lambda\iota\alpha$ ) (1), which might be of various sizes, at least when used for corn, but that a standard size containing 2 artabae was so common that  $\theta\alpha\lambda\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$  came eventually to be a definite measure of capacity. In these ostraca it is used sometimes in this latter sense, sometimes as = sack or basket, always as a dry measure. The form found in Coptic texts is usually  $\Theta\Lambda\Lambda\iota\iota\varsigma$  or  $\Theta\Lambda\iota\iota\varsigma$ , but the Greek appears to be  $\theta\alpha\lambda\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$  or (in popular usage)  $\theta\alpha\lambda\lambda\iota\nu$  ( $\theta\alpha\lambda\iota\nu$ ); hence we have adopted in the translations the forms *thallion*, *thallia*.

4.  $\text{Καμήλιον}$ . Also written  $\Gamma\alpha\mu\iota\lambda$  (297, 31; 361, 2) and  $\text{Καμια}$  (362, 2). For the full form see 370, 5, 6, which shows that we should throughout read not  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\mu\eta\lambda\omicron\iota$ , but  $\kappa\alpha\mu\eta\lambda\iota\alpha$ ; cf. 211, 6,  $\text{ΚΑΜ/ΕΙ}$ , where the neuter numeral points in the same direction. The sense is virtually “camel-load”, and so, for convenience, we have translated the word, but probably the actual meaning is throughout simply “camel” (cf. 129). There is no evidence that  $\kappa\alpha\mu\eta\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$  was used as a conventional measure; the reference is always to the concrete load; but doubtless this would in practice tend to contain a fairly uniform

(1) One *Scala* (KIRCHER 136) has  $\Theta\Lambda\iota\iota\varsigma$  (*sic leg.*) as a saddle cloth or sack of course flax, = *khaishah*. In Arabic *talis* is a corn sack. It is also a measure = 12 *modii* according to KIRCHER, 143.



quantity, and these ostraca contain some data on the point. Thus, in 211, 24 *cnidia* are apparently one *καμήλιον*; in 361, 3 the meaning is *perhaps* (but this is doubtful) that 10 *thallia* = 9 *καμήλια* (in 362, where the same phrase recurs, the number of *καμήλια* is lost); and in 370 we apparently have 4 *καμήλια* to 100 *cnidia*, which agrees very well with 211, and 6 *καμήλια* to 9 *thallia* of vegetable seed (cf. 361 above). In PREISIGKE, S.-B. 1981, we should probably read (πρώτης) ρρ(ξ) *καμήλ(ια)* δκτὼ εἰς οἶνον ξ(έσταξ) ρξ, which gives 20 *xestae* to the load. If WESSELY is correct (as he seems to be; see under 112H below) in reckoning the *κνίδιον* as = "ca. 5 *Xestēs*" (*Stzsb. Wien. Akad.* CXLIX, 5, p. 28; see WILCKEN, *Grdže.*, LXXII<sup>1</sup>), that would give only 4 *cnidia* to the load, which does not at all accord with 211. In PSI. IV 307, 4—8 we have the number of camel-loads followed by the amount of wine in ἀγγ(εῖα); but only in l. 4 are both numerals preserved, viz. 3 loads to 48 ἀγγεῖα. (In l. 9 ΚΑΜΗΛ is not followed by a numeral and ought perhaps to be extended *καμήλ(ιτου)*).

5. *Κνίδιον*. For measures of this kind, among them this, see the references cited for ἀσκαλώνιον above, and for *κνίδιον* in particular see 164, note. A 'common measure for wine, which is the only substance for which it is used in the present collection. In 126 we have big and little *cnidia*, and μικρὰ *κνίδια* also occur in 370, 3. In the accounts, 121 and following, *cnidia* regularly come last, as if they were the smallest measure. For the capacity see under *καμήλιον*. See too below, under 112H, μικρόν and ρρξ.
6. *Κόλλαθον*. See WILCKEN, *Ostr.* I 764, HULTSCH, *Metz. Scr.* Index, II 185 ("habet 25 sextarios") and I 264, P. Lond. IV 1414, 25 n. It frequently occurs as a dry measure (P. Lond. IV index; 197, cheese, where 8 *collatha* = 4 *κιρ*, "baskets"), but was also used for liquids (ξξς in WILCKEN, *l. c.*; in 136 perhaps wine; in 91 "fill their kolathe (?) with oil"). In 136 not only *collatha* (ΠΟΛΛΑΘΕ) but little *collatha* (ΟΥΚΟΥΓ' ΠΟΛΛΑΘΕ) occur.
7. *Κόλοβ(ον)?* Only in 381, 2 and 3, and quite obscure. Qu. for *κόλοβωνιον*?

8. Κολοσώνιον. See references cited under ἀσχαλώνιον. WILCKEN (*Archiv* VI 400<sup>4</sup> and refs.) gives the capacity as 5 διπλά. In the present volume 373, 3 (wine) is a possible instance; see too the preceding measure.
9. Κοῦρι. See WILCKEN, *Ostr.* I 763; CRUM, *Copt. MSS.*, no. 54, an account of κοῦριζα, has numbers of κοῦρια up to 860, and *Short Texts* 440 up to 232. PREISIGKE, *S.-B.* 1960 has οἶνον μικρ(ά) κοῦρι(α) ζ, following μ(ε)γ(ά)λα λαη κδ. In the present volume only in 343, 3; probably for wine, to judge from the measures with which it is associated.
10. Λάκον or λάκκον. Perhaps from λάκκος, which in *Anal. Bolland.* 1909, p. 19, is used to mean a place where corn is stored; but there may be a connexion with λάγυρος, for λάκον is regularly a wine measure; see 90, 136 (probably wine), 213, 216, 347; cf. WESSELY, *Studien*, XX, 196, 3. In 90 it follows ρορά ("2 ph., 12 l. of old wine"). In 136 it is associated with ῥορον, κέλλαθον, small κέλλαθον, and hots; in 213 with μεγάλη and μικρά (so too 216); in 343 with κνίδιον and κοῦρι; in 347 with κνίδιον, μεγάλη and μικρά. On occasion it is not impossible it may = μέγα; see 216, 5 n.
11. ΛΑΚΟΟΤΕ. See 164, note, where it is pointed out (from B. M. 1064) that it = κνίδιον (see also under ΛΑ2Η below). It is a measure of wine, specially associated with Middle Egypt.
12. ΛΑ2Η or ΛΑΗ. Usually a wine measure, but in 87 used for pickle; "fill 2 lahé with pickle and give 5 xestes of pickle to the lahé, that is 10 xestes." A lahé then contains 5 xestae, which, according to WESSELY (see above, under κνίδιον), is the capacity of the κνίδιον. KRALL (see CCXXXIV) shows ΛΑ2Η = κνίδιον; 87 thus confirms this, and suggests that ΛΑΚΟΟΤΕ, also used as equivalent to κνίδιον, is either identical with ΛΑ2Η or at times confused with it. The explanation of such confusions may perhaps lie in the existence of large and small measures of various kinds, as with the κνίδιον (above) and ΛΑ2Η. In 167 we have small ΛΑ2Η (ἡκογῖ ἡΛΑ2Η), rendered in Greek by μικ(ρά); so too in 168, 169 and 171; in 170 ἡΛΑ2Η occurs without the ἡκογῖ and is nevertheless expressed in Greek as μικ(ρά). Normally, then, μικρόν and

χνίδιον may be taken as Greek equivalents of ΛΑΞΗ, whereas μέγα represents πορά (see below, s. ν.). In PREISIGKE, *S.-B.* 1960, however, we get μ(ε)γ(ά)λα λάτη, side by side with μικρ(ά) κούρ(ια) ζ; in 1969 we have λάτη ξξ without the μεγάληα, accompanying 334 διπλά.

13. ΜΑΛΛΧΕ. See CRUM, *C. O.* 165, where it is pointed out that *maa*je = μάλλον, for which see P. Lond. V, pp. 157—158. A dry measure, used in the present collection for corn (86, 140), dates (106, 141), and lentils (89); the article is unnamed, or its name is lost, in 129 (perhaps corn?), 132, 162, 164.
14. μέγα. A frequent wine measure in these texts (especially in the Greek or semi-Greek receipts), and it also occurs in HENGSTENBERG, *Kopt. Papyri* (München, J. Rosenthal, 1914), 1, 2, 3. In 167 it corresponds to ἄφορη in the Coptic; so too 171. In 173, on the contrary, the Greek recapitulation has φορ/; and in 123, 10, 12, 13 με/, which must stand for μεγάληα, follows φ(ορά); in l. 12 it is followed by αἱπλ/, which in l. 14 is followed by χνίδ(ια), itself in ll. 15 and 16 following ἔργα. In 275 we have οἱ μετ/ : κ ακκαλιε : ης. As already remarked above, there are instances of μεγάληα χνίδια and μεγάληα λάτη, which, as ΛΑΞΗ = χνίδιον, are identical; and in 137 we have “large vessels” (ποσ ηκεογυε). See also below, under πορά.
15. Μέτρον. Here only in 348 (wine), where the reading is very uncertain; the other measures named are the σκευος, the πορά, and the μικρόν. It is very frequent in P. Lond. IV, where it regularly contains 10 *xestae*, except in one account (1415), where for vinegar it contains only 8; for oil and ἔψημα it contains 10 even there.
16. Μικρόν. Very frequent in these texts, like μέγα. As already remarked (under ΛΑΞΗ) it = ΛΑΞΗ or μικρόν ΛΑΞΗ and therefore χνίδιον, though a μέγα χνίδιον also occurs. Cf. too 347.
17. ΜΟΙΛΑ. Only in 186, 4, where see the note and references cited.
18. ΜΟΡ/. Only in 374, where see the note. It is not likely to be connected with μόργιον (μέτρον γῆς) in HULTSCH, *Metr. Scr.* 1322.
19. ΟΙΠΟ. See P. Lond. V, pp. 158—159. Here it occurs in 89 (dates, 2), 92 (corn, 4), 129 (article unnamed; *maa*je also



occurs; in l. 1 "1 *oipe* and a half-tenth", which may possibly indicate an *artaba* on a decimal system), 140 (cucumbers, 3; *maaje* also occurs), 191 ("19 *artabae* of fodder, less 1 *oipe*, and 19 *artabae* of barley, less 2 *oipe*").

20. Ὀργον or ὄργανον. See 196, note; = λάxon and κοῦρον. In 196 and 198 as a dry measure (in both cases cheese; in 196, 16 org. followed by 6 *ascalonia*, in 198, 16 asc., 8 org. and a large *hots*); but in 122 and 123 it occurs several times as a wine measure, along with *phora* and *cnidion*, regularly coming first; the highest number is 74 (123, 16), and the highest number of *phorai* following org. is 10 (122, 4; in 122, 11, etc., where ὄργ. does not occur, we get numbers of φop. up to 46, and in 123, 13, 334 φop. occur).
21. Σιπλῶν. In full in 164, 9; abbreviated σιπλ/ in 123, 12, 14, 17. In 164 it is a measure of pickle, in 123 of wine. It is identified, no doubt rightly, by M. C. KUENTZ with the Lat *simpulum* or *simplum*.
22. Σκεῦος. See 137, 2 f., ποσ σκεογε : ια, "14 large vessels"; 275, 5, σκεγε πταλom : ε, "5 pots of cheese"; 348, 2, 5, where 15 σκεγα (*sic*) of wine occur; 351, 3, 5, where 24 σκεγε of an unspecified article, probably wine, occur along with 4 *phorai*. In 137 it is the vessels themselves that are in question, but in the other cases the word is used as if it were a definite measure. Probably the reference is to concrete vessels, but there may have been standard sizes. A μέγ(α) σκ(εῦος) probably occurs in 156.
23. Φορ(ά). In the Coptic texts written φορος (89, 8; 90, 2; 173, 4), φορηс (92, 10; 167, 7; 171, 3; 172, 5; 178, 1), or φορεс (186, 6, 8); in the Greek always abbreviated, φ/ or φορ'. Despite the endings oc, nc, or ec, it seems preferable to connect the word with φορᾶ; it may have meant originally "load" and then come to denote a definite measure. This is supported by the fact that in 90 φορος and in 92 φορηс are feminine. In KRALL V, 15 we get r1/ φορ/ λ4π λπ° λ/ κε, which KRALL renders "Lasten (φορ/) 1980 zu je *Litrae* 25"), which, if φορᾶ is there used, as here, of a measure, gives us the capacity, viz. 25 *litrae*. In 186, where

we have 21 *ph.* of "sorouton wine" and 10 of new wine, the writer adds: "and add 10 *xestes* of . . . wine to each one"; so that the *φορά* presumably was larger than 10 *xestae*. The *ξέστης* contained  $17\frac{1}{18}$  *litrae* (P. Lond. V, p. 156). As stated above (*s. v.* μέγα), in 167 and 171 φορῆς = μέγα, but in 123, 10, 12, 13, φ(ορά) is mentioned along with μέ(γα). In the accounts 122—125 we find it along with the ὄργον, the κνίδιον, and (exceptionally) the μέγα and the σιπλοῦν; it regularly comes after ὄργον and before κνίδιον; the highest number of φοραί, where ὄργα precede, is 10 (122, 4), where ὄργα do not occur, 46 (122, 11, etc.), or, in 123, 13, even 334. In 121 φοραί alone are used; the highest number is 30. Elsewhere we find the φορά associated with the *lakon* (90, 2 *ph.*, 12 *l.*), the small *lahé* (167, 12 *l.*, 8 *ph.*; 171, 3 *ph.*, 15 *l.*; 172, 8 *ph.*, 12 *l.*; 173, 1 *ph.*, 1 *l.*), the *cnidion* (329, 73 *cnid.*, 12 *ph.*), the *καεῦς*, the μέτρον, and the μικρόν (348, 15 *στ.*, 16 μέτ., 62 φ., 1 *μικ.*), the *orgon* (350, 20 *o.*, 1 *ph.*), and the *καεῦς* alone (351, 24 *στ.*, 4 *ph.*). In 210 we perhaps find 24 *phorai* "in 96 jars (κάδοι)".

We may probably conclude that φορά is normally, but not always, equivalent to the μέγα (*cf.* too 216, where μέγα *perhaps* = λάκκον); and in that case the μέγα can perhaps not be identified with the μέγα κνίδιον, as κνίδιον regularly occurs along with the φορά, and once (123, 12) with the φορά and the μέγα. Probably, however, in these cases, the μικρόν κνίδιον is meant; and it may be inferred that κνίδιον alone is to be taken as = μικρόν κνίδιον.

The φορά, in these texts, is always used for wine, except in 92, where it is used for salt fish and vinegar.

24. 207C. See CRUM, C. O. 348. Chiefly a wine measure; 91, 106, 162, 179, 344; in 136 among vessels associated with wine. In 186 for vinegar and pickle, in 198 for cheese; in 177 the article is uncertain. In Ryl. Copt. 347 for beans. In C. O. 348, note, for vinegar and salt. In 91 the word is used not as a measure but of a vessel ("fill . . . their *hots* with old wine"). In 106 we have "2 small *hots*", in 198 "a large *hots*".



## TEXTS



## FRAGMENTS OF LITERARY MANUSCRIPTS.

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The excavations produced, from various points in the site, a large number of remnants of papyrus and parchment manuscripts of all sorts. Unfortunately, with few exceptions, they are now but the minutest of scraps and only those in which anything of interest was to be discerned are noticed here. The total of parchment fragments was considerable and represents some 25 volumes, perhaps from the monastic library, perhaps partly from the abodes of private owners. The dates of the various hands may range from the early 5th to the early 7th centuries. The Coptic fragments are all now in the Oriental Department of the British Museum, under the inventory number Or. MS. 9035.

### Biblical.

#### 1. Job. (Coptic.)

A narrow strip, cut from a double leaf and showing parts of some verses of *Job* (XXX 8, 9; 17, 18), written in a 5th cent. uncial. These few words are of considerable importance: they testify to a distinct Fayyûmic version of the book and moreover to that variety of the dialect, hitherto extant in only one specimen (1), which used the verbal prefix 2Λ-, 2AK- etc., instead of Λ-, AK-. Here is the text of the larger part:

recto, XXX 8 ΠΑΠΛΟΥ ΕΤΑΩ[ΕΜ 2ΙΧΕΜΠΕΚΕ2Ι]

9 ΤΕΠΟΥ ΔΕ 2ΛΙΩ[ΛΑΠ ΠΗΟΥ Π]

ΟΥΚΙΘΑΡΑ [

[ΛΥ]Ω ΛΗΑΚ 2ΛΥΧ[Ω ΠΙCΩΙ] (2)

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(1) Brit. Mus. 521 (cf. *Aeg. Z.* 1898, 139, *ib.* 1915, 113).

(2) Cf. Boh. ΑΠΟΚ ΕΤΟΙ ΠΧΗΠ, θρόλλημα.





ΑΠΟΚ ΜΗ, ΦΑ2Ε ΔΕ ΕΡΑΤ4, ΠΑΙ ΠΤΩΤΗ ΕΤΕΤΗ-. 27 ΕΥΗΝΥ. 28 ΕΠΓΛΥ-  
 ΩΩΠΕ, ΠΜΑ. 33 ΖΗΟΥΜΟΥ, ΧΕΕΤ (*sic.*). 49 ΠΕΠΠΑΥ ΓΑΡ. 40 om.  
 ΑΥΩ ΛΥΟΥΛΟΥ ΠΩΩ4. 42 ΑΥΩ ΛΗΠΤ4. 47 ΑΥΩ ΠΕΧΑ4, ΠΠΑΜΕ.  
 48. ΛΙC ΟΥΩΩΒ ΕΥΧΩ ΜΜΟΣ ΠΑ4. II 7 ΑΥΜΑ2ΟΥ Ε2ΡΑΙ ΕΡΟΟΥ.  
 8 ΑΥΩ ΑΥΕΙΠΕ. 9 ΜΜΟΥ, ΠΑΡΧ. ΔΕ. 12 ΜΠΠΕCΠΗΥ. 13 ΒΩΚ  
 ΕΘ. 19 ΑΠΟΚ †ΠΑ-. 20 ΠΕΧΑΥ ΠΑΥ. 24 2ΩΒ ΠΠ. 25 ΕΤΒΗΠΤ4.  
 IV 39 ΑΥΧΩ ΕΡΟΙ. 41 ΠΙCΤΕΥΕ ΕΡΟ4. 42 ΠΕΥΧΩΔΕ, ΕΠΠΙCΤΕΥΕCΕ  
 ΑΠ. 44 ΜΠΠΡΟΦ., 2ΡΑΙ Μ-. 45 om. ΠΕ. 46 ΠΕΡΕΟΥΒΑC.

### 5. St. John. (Greek.)

Ostracon. 2 fragments. Complete. Joh. II 1. The writer has first made an unsuccessful attempt at the text and then repeated it, rather less inaccurately. As he was obviously more at home in Coptic than in Greek the verse is here printed in Coptic type. The Greek, correctly written, is καὶ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ γάμος ἐγένετο ἐν Κανᾷ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, καὶ ἦν ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐκεῖ. The placing of ἐκεῖ immediately after ἦν may be due to the accidental omission of ἡ . . . Ἰησοῦ or be a textual variant (not noted by von Soden). Of course, even in the latter case, this ostracon cannot be treated as a textual authority.

Ρ ΚΑΙ ΤΗ ΑΤΗ ΤΗ ΤΡΤΗΙ ΚΑΜΟC Κ

Ρ ΚΑΙ ΤΗ ΗΜΕΡΑ ΤΗ ΤΡΙΤΗ ΓΑΜΟC ΕΤΕΝΕΤΟ

Π ΓΑΛΙΑ ΘΗC ΚΑΛΙΑΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΗΠ ΕΚΕΙ

2. ΕΤΕΝΕΤΟ: *sic.*

### 6. St. John. (Coptic.)

A small fragment of the same Gospel, XX 31 to XXI 2, is written in 2 columns of a rounded hand, much like the "Coptic" hand of the Freer Psalter. Variants from HORNER are: XXI 1 om. ΕΒΟΛ. 2 ΔΕΠΕ.

### 7. St. John. (Coptic.)

Yet another MS. of 4 broken leaves gives us XXI 7 to the end of this Gospel. The text is palimpsest, the earlier writing, legible on the last page, showing ch. I 31—33 of the same Gospel. The script is a small, square uncial, entirely without superlineation and probably of the 6th century. Its

variants are: — 7  $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\bar{\iota}\varsigma$ . 8  $\mu\pi\chi\omicron\iota$ ,  $\mu\pi\tau\epsilon\tau$ . 11  $\lambda\epsilon$  for  $\epsilon\epsilon$ . 15 *om.*  $\mu\epsilon\iota$   $\bar{\iota}\varsigma$  and  $\epsilon\zeta\omicron\gamma\epsilon\mu\alpha\iota$ . 17  $\kappa\omicron\omicron\omicron\gamma\eta$ . 20  $\tau\epsilon\mu\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\mu\tau$ . 22 *om.*  $\mu\tau\omicron\kappa$  (2<sup>o</sup>). 23 *om.*  $\epsilon\epsilon$ . 24  $\mu\tau\omicron\chi$   $\mu\epsilon\mu\tau\alpha\chi$ . 25 after it a dividing line; then  $\mu\epsilon\gamma[\alpha\gamma\epsilon\alpha\iota\omicron\mu]$  etc. The verso of the last leaf is blank.

### 8. Acts. (Coptic.)

The scribe of the last MS. undoubtedly wrote also a copy of *Acts*, whereof we have the last leaf, with XXVIII 26 to the end. But the dimensions of the two MSS. differ so undeniably (width here 9.5 cm., there 11 cm., with consequent divergence in the relative situation of the columns), that it is doubtful whether the two fragments can be from the same volume. The leaf is palimpsest, the legible older text being John I 31 to 33. The following are the variants from BUDGE's print(1): — 26  $\mu\tau\chi\omicron\omicron\omicron\varsigma$   $\mu\mu\alpha\zeta\mu\mu\mu\epsilon\iota\lambda\alpha\omicron\varsigma$   $\chi\epsilon$ . 31  $\mu\alpha\tau\tau\epsilon\mu\epsilon\iota\alpha$   $\mu\mu$ . Subscr.  $\mu\epsilon\mu\tau$ .  $\mu\mu\epsilon\mu\epsilon\iota\omicron\tau\epsilon$   $\mu\mu\alpha\mu$ .

### 9. I Corinthians. (Greek.)

Brit. Mus. Pap. 2240. Of this vellum MS. only a few fragments remain, all of them for the most part discoloured and shrivelled, so that only comparatively few letters retain their original size and clearness. Fortunately most of the fragments can be identified as coming from two leaves, which contain, the first, part of chap. 12 (with, probably, the end of 11), the second, part of chap. 14. Leaf 1 in its present state is made up of five fragments, leaf 2 of two. Each page contains two columns, so that there are four to each leaf. The vellum being so much shrivelled, it is impossible to state the exact original dimensions of the leaves, neither of which, moreover, is quite complete; but they may be stated roughly as probably about 15×15 cm. The average width of the column seems to have been about 4 cm. or a little more.

The hand is a good regular upright uncial of medium size, with distinction of light and heavy strokes; the individual letters, when not distorted by the shrivelling of the vellum, are well

(1) *Coptic Bibl. Texts* p. 269.

formed, and of fairly uniform size, except at the ends of lines, where they are not infrequently smaller than the average in order to fit them into the line, though even so the ends of lines are not very well aligned. There are no accents; the high or middle point occurs two or three times. The hand is not likely to be later than the 5th century but on the other hand seems later than the Vaticanus and the Sinaiticus, regularly assigned to the 4th. Probably the MS. may be assigned with some confidence to the 5th century. The number at the top of fragm. 2a is by a different hand, and may well be later.

The number just referred to is that of the folio or page, or perhaps even the quire, but it is not easy to determine which. If it refers to the page we should expect a number to occur on each page, though this is not essential; but as a matter of fact there are no certain traces of ink at the top of any of the other pages. Were it certain that no number occurred on either side of fragm. 1 we might perhaps conclude that  $\rho\mu\zeta$  is the number of the quire; but this would indicate a very long MS., which is not specially likely in view of the size of the page, and the vellum is so much damaged that it is really impossible to say whether other numbers did or did not occur. In any case the number affords some indication as to the nature of the codex. Fragm. 2 contained roughly ten verses of chapter 14. Up to and including XIV 18 there are 333 verses in the Epistle. If we take (as we fairly may do) this leaf as more or less representative of all and verses 19—28 as of more or less average length, this means that about 33 leaves are required for the preceding portion of the Epistle. Clearly then, even if we take  $\rho\mu\zeta$  as the number only of the page a good deal more than I Cor. must have been contained in the codex. It may be added that  $\rho$  seems certain, so that though  $\mu\zeta$  are not beyond doubt no alternative reading of these two letters would affect this conclusion.

The character of the MS. is fairly good. The orthography is marred by the common confusion of  $\iota : \epsilon$  and  $\epsilon : \alpha$ , but mere blunders are not common. Such are probably  $\varsigma\mu\phi\omicron\rho\omicron$  for  $\varsigma\mu\phi\epsilon\rho\omicron$  in 38 f. (though this may be a genuine, unrecorded, variant),  $\rho\iota\mu\iota\varsigma\omicron\epsilon$  in l. 89, and  $\omicron\iota\epsilon$  in l. 98; perhaps too  $\rho\rho\omicron$

πεσων in l. 124 f., but more probably that reading, if correct (see note), is a genuine variant, as to turn πεσωνεπιπροσων (or επιπροσωνπεσων?) into προπεσων requires greater carelessness than this scribe normally shows, unless indeed unusually narrow columns be supposed in his archetype: —

επιπρο  
σων  
πεσων

As is usually the case with the papyrus or vellum MSS. found in Egypt, the text is of a somewhat eclectic character. The collation here given is with the text of (VON) S(ODEN), whose symbols, though not yet generally adopted, are therefore used. It may be explained that *K* stands for the *zōwī*, or Antiochene recension, *H* for the Egyptian recension (Hesychius), and *I* for the Palestinian recension (Pamphilus-Eusebius, at Jerusalem). The types of the last-named are distinguished as *a*, *b* and *c*, subdivided by numbers, 1, 2, 3. *B* appears as ⚡1, *K* as ⚡2, and *A* as ⚡4. For the other numbers reference must be made to VON SODEN.

In one or two cases (ll. 49, 127 f.) our text agrees with *K* against *H* and many of *I*, but its general affinities are neither with *K* nor with *H*, but with *I*, and in particular with *I*<sup>a</sup>. It fairly often agrees with 1026 (D, Claromontanus) and 1028 (G, Dresden, Kgl. Bibl. A. 145<sup>b</sup>), but at other times differs from them. On the whole, however, it may be reckoned as approaching most nearly to VON SODEN's type *I*<sup>a</sup>. Genuine variants not recorded in S. are ll. 54 (των πνευματων?), 89 (ΓΙΗΗCΘΕ, but see above), 98 (ΔΙΟ), 115 (uncertain); and perhaps 38 f. (CΥΜΦΟΡΟΝ) and 124 f. (προπεσων); but it will be seen that none of these is absolutely certain.

*Fragment 1 a.]*

Col. 1.

1 ΝΑΤΙ . . . [  
2 ΦΤΙ . . . ]

Col. 2.

20 [ΔΙC Ε]Ν ΠΗΙ ΘΥ̅



[14 lines too  
much defaced  
for any confi-  
dent reading.]

[12 lines too  
much defaced  
for any confi-  
dent reading.]

12. 2 17 ΑΠΑΓΟΜΕΝΟΙ  
3 ΔΙΟ ΓΗΩΡΕΙΩ  
ΥΜΕΙΝ ΟΤΙ ΟΥ

6 33 [...] ΚΑΙ . . . ΤΑ . . .  
Ο ΕΠ[Ε]ΡΓΩΗ ΕΣΤΙΝ  
35 ΤΑ ΠΑΝ[ΤΑ] ΕΠ ΠΑ[CΙ]  
7 ΕΚΑΣΤΩ ΔΕ ΔΙΑ[Ο]ΤΑΙ  
Η ΦΑΠΕΡΩCΙC ΤΟΥ  
ΠΝC ΠΡΟC ΤΟ CΥΜ

1 b.]

## Col. 1.

8 [Φ]ΟΡΟΗ· Ω Μ[Ε]Ν  
40 ΓΑΡ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΠΝC  
ΔΙΑΟΤΑΙ ΛΟΓΟ[C]  
CΟΦΙΑC [ΑΛΛΩ Δ]Ε  
ΛΟΓΟC [ΓΗΩCΕΩC]  
ΚΑΤΑ [ΤΟ ΑΥ]ΤΟ ΠΝΑ  
9 45 ΕΤΕΡΩ [ΔΕ] Π[C]ΤΙ[C]  
ΕΠ ΤΩ ΑΥΤΩ ΠΗ  
[ΑΛΛΩ] ΧΑΡ[Ι]CΜ[ΑΤΑ?]  
ΙΑΜΑΤΩΗ ΕΠ [ΤΩ]  
10 ΑΥΤΩ ΠΗ<sup>[-]</sup> ΑΛ[ΑΩ]  
50 ΔΕ ΕΠΕΡΓΗΜ[Α]  
ΤΑ ΔΥΝΑ[Μ]Ε[ΩΠ]  
ΑΛΛΩ ΠΡΟΦ[ΗΤΙΑ]  
ΑΛΛΩ ΔΙΑΚΡΕΙCΙC  
[Τ]Φ[Η] ΠΗ[ΜΑ]ΤΩΠ  
55 [Ε]ΤΕΡΩ ΓΕΝΗ ΓΛΩC  
CΩΠ ΑΛΛΩ ΔΕ ΕΡ  
ΜΗΠCΙΑ ΓΛΩC

## Col. 2.

11 CΩ[Π] ΠΑΠΤΑ ΔC  
ΤΑ[ΥΤΑ] ΕΠΕΡΓΕΙ  
60 [ΤΟ ΕΠ Κ]ΑΙ ΤΟ ΑΥΤ[Ο]  
[ΠΝΑ Δ]ΙΔΡΟΥΗ  
[ΕΚΑΣΤ]Ω ΚΑΘΩ[C]  
12 [ΒΟΥΛΕ]ΤΑΙ ΚΑΘΑ  
64 [ΠΕΡ Γ]ΑΡ Τ[Ο CΩ]ΜΑ  
[4 lines lost.]

[.] . . . . [  
70 ΕΠ ΕCΤΙ[Π] CΩΜΑ  
ΟΥΤΩC [ΚΑΙ Ο ΧC]  
13 ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ [ΕΠ ΠΗ]  
ΠΑΠΤ[ΕC] ΗΜΕΙC  
ΕΙC ΕΠ CΩΜΑ  
75 ΕΒΑΠΤΙCΘΗΜΕ  
ΕΙΤΕ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΟΙ

*Fragment 2a.]*

Col. 1.

PMZ

[5 lines lost.]

14. 19-20 82 [ΕΝ ΓΛΩΣΣΗ] Α  
 [ΔΕΛΦΟΙ] ΜΗ ΠΑ[Ι]  
 [ΔΙΑ ΓΙΝΕ]ΣΘΑΙ  
 85 [ΤΑΙΣ ΦΡΕΣ]ΗΝ ΑΛ  
 [ΑΛ ΤΗ ΚΑ]ΚΙΑ ΗΗ  
 [ΠΙΑΖΕΤΕ] ΤΑΙΣ  
 ΑΞ [ΦΡΕΣΙ ΤΕΛΙΟΙ]  
 21 [ΓΙ]ΝΗΣ[ΘΕ ΕΝ ΝΟΜΩ]  
 90 [ΓΕ]ΓΡΑΠ[ΤΑΙ ΟΤΙ]  
 [Ε]Η [ΕΤ]ΕΡ[ΑΙΣ ΓΛ]ΩΣ  
 ΣΑΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΠ ΧΕΙ  
 ΛΟCΙΗ ΕΤΕ[Ρ]ΩΗ  
 [ΑΛΛ]ΗCΩ Τ[Ω ΑΛ]Φ  
 95 ΤΟΥΤΩ ΚΑ[Ι ΟΥΔΕ]

*2b./*

Col. 1.

- 115 [ΠΡΟ]ΦΗ[Τ ΙC]  
 [ΕΛΘ]Η ΑΞ [ΤΙC ΑΠΙC]  
 [ΤΟC] Η ΪΔΙΩ[ΤΗC Ε]  
 ΑΞ[ΓΧΕΤΑ]Ι ΥΠΟ  
 Π[ΑΝΤΩΝ Α]ΝΑΚΤΙ  
 120 [ΝΕΤΕ Υ]ΠΟ ΠΑΝ  
 25 [Τ]ΩΗ ΤΑ ΚΡΥΠΤΑ  
 [Τ]Η[C] Κ[ΑΡ]ΔΙΑC ΑΥΤΟΥ  
 ΦΑΝΕ[ΡΑ] ΓΕΙΝΕΤΑΙ  
 ΚΑΙ Ο[ΥΤΩ]C ΠΡΟ

Col. 2.

- [ΠΩ?] ΕΙCΑ[ΚΟΥCΟΗ]  
 [ΤΑ]Ι ΜΟΥ. [ΛΕΓΕΙ]  
 22 [?] Ο ΙC ΔΙ[Ο ΛΙ ΓΛΩC]  
 ΣΑΙ [ΕΙC CΗ]ΜΕΙ[ΟΗ]  
 100 ΕΙC[Η ΟΥ Τ]ΟΙC ΠΙC  
 ΤΕΥΟΥCΗ [Α]ΛΛ[Α Τ]ΟΙC  
 ΑΠΙCΤΟΙC Η ΔΞ [ΠΡ]Ο  
 ΦΗΤΕΙΑ Ο[Υ ΤΟΙC] Α  
 ΠΙCΤΟΙC [ΑΛ]ΛΑ Τ[ΟΙC]  
 23 105 ΠΙCΤΕ[ΥΟΥCΙ]Η ΕΑΝ  
 ΟΥΗ C[ΥΠΕΛ]ΘΗ Η  
 ΕΚΚΑ[ΗCΙΑ] ΟΛΗ ΕΠΙ  
 ΤΟ ΑΥΤ[Ο] ΚΑΙ ΠΑΙ  
 ΤΕC ΑΛΛΩCΗ ΓΛΩC  
 110 ΣΑΙC ΕΙCΕΛΘΩCΙ Α[Ε]  
 ΚΑΙ ΙΔΙΩΤΑΙ Η ΑΠΙC  
 ΤΟΙ ΟΥ[Κ Ε]ΡΟΥC[ΗΗ]  
 ΟΤΙ ΜΑ[ΙΝΕC]ΘΑ[Ι]  
 24 ΕΑΝ ΑΞ ΠΑΝΤΕC

[5 lines lost.]

Col. 2.

- Π[ΑΝΤΑ ΠΡΟC ΟΙ]  
 140 ΚΟΔ[ΟΜΗΗ ΓΕΙ]  
 27 ΝΕC[ΘΩ · ΕΙΤΕ]  
 ΓΛΩC[CΗ ΤΙC ΑΛ]  
 ΑΞΙ ΚΑ[ΤΑ ΔΥΟ Η]

το πα[  
145 μερ]οϛ[  
διερμη]νευ[ε]  
28 [τω εαη δε] μη η [ερ]  
μ[ηνε]υ[της ci]  
γατω εν εκκα[ιη]  
150 cia εαυτω δε λα  
[λειτ]ω και τ[ω θω̄]  
29 [προ]φηται δε Δ[γο]

## Col. 2.

A[  
 Ol[  
 €[

## Col. 2.

• • • • •  
• • • • [  
πεο • [  
• • • • •

20. [ $\Delta$ IC: there is not room for  $\Delta$ EIC.  $\Theta\bar{\gamma}$ : the  $\gamma$  is very doubtful.

33—36. A very perplexing passage. The readings in ll. 34—36, though doubtful in details (see below), are fairly certain as a whole; hence in l. 33 we ought to have  $\omicron \Lambda \epsilon \lambda \gamma \tau \omicron \varsigma \theta \bar{\epsilon}$ ; but  $\kappa \alpha \iota$  is practically certain, and  $\kappa \alpha \iota \omicron \lambda \gamma \tau \omicron \varsigma \theta \bar{\epsilon}$  seems ruled out by the almost equally clear  $\tau \lambda$ .

34.  $\epsilon \tau \eta \eta$ : or  $\epsilon \tau \iota$ ; the  $\eta$  is excessively doubtful, but  $\epsilon \tau$  is reasonably certain. For this position S. quotes *H*<sup>21</sup> 78. S.  $\delta \delta \epsilon \alpha \upsilon \tau \omicron \varsigma$  [ $\epsilon \sigma \tau \iota \nu$ ]  $\theta \epsilon \omicron \varsigma \delta \epsilon \nu \epsilon \rho \gamma \omega \nu \tau \alpha \pi \acute{\alpha} \nu \tau \alpha$ .

35.  $\eta \lambda$ [ $\varsigma$ ]: very doubtful, especially the  $\lambda$ .

36.  $\lambda \iota \alpha$ [ $\omicron$ ] $\tau \lambda$ : all the dotted letters are excessively doubtful, and it is not certain that any letters occur after the lacuna; but in ll. 37, 38 the letters at the end are very faint, and traces are probably to be recognized here.

38f.  $\varsigma \upsilon \mu \phi \omicron \rho \omicron \iota$ : S.  $\varsigma \upsilon \mu \phi \acute{\epsilon} \rho \omicron \nu$ .  $\varsigma \upsilon \mu \phi \omicron \rho \omicron \iota$ , which is not recorded by S., is probably a scribal error rather than a genuine variant.

47. [ $\lambda \lambda \lambda \omega$ ]: there is not room for  $\delta \epsilon$  (S.).  $\Lambda \epsilon$  om. by *M*<sub>p</sub> *I*<sup>21</sup> 1026 ff it vg arm.

$\chi \alpha \rho$ [ $\iota$ ] $\varsigma \mu$ [ $\lambda \tau \alpha$ ?]: this is the reading in S., but the space, though sufficient for two letters, is small for three, unless they were very much cramped, and it may be suspected that  $\chi \alpha \rho \iota \varsigma \mu$ [ $\lambda$ ] (so too *M*<sub>p</sub> it vg) was the actual reading here. It may be added that the dotted letters are all very indistinct, but there seems no reason to doubt the readings given.

48.  $\epsilon \eta$ : very indistinct and consequently doubtful.

49.  $\lambda \gamma \tau \omega$ : so  $\text{K}\lambda \text{ }\Omega \rho \text{ }\text{K}\upsilon$  *K* against most (excl., *inter alia*,  $\delta 2$ ,  $\delta 3^c$ ) *H*, many *I*<sup>a</sup> it vg  $\Delta \delta$  *Bz*.; S.  $\acute{\epsilon} \nu$ !. After  $\eta \eta$  there seems to be a small space; hence there may have been a point.

52.  $\Lambda \epsilon$  (so S.) after  $\lambda \lambda \lambda \omega$  om. also by *M*<sub>p</sub> *H*<sup>21</sup> 1 78 *I*<sup>21</sup> 1026 ff it vg  $\text{K}\lambda \text{ }\text{Bz}$ .

$\pi \rho \omicron \phi$ [ $\eta \tau \iota \alpha$ ]: there is probably not room for  $\tau \epsilon \iota \alpha$ .

53.  $\Lambda \epsilon$  (so S.) after  $\lambda \lambda \lambda \omega$  om. also by the authorities mentioned in note on l. 52, except *Bz*, and by arm.

54. [ $\tau$ ] $\omega$ [ $\iota$ ]  $\eta \eta$ [ $\mu \lambda$ ] $\tau \omega \eta$ : S.  $\pi \nu \epsilon \upsilon \mu \acute{\alpha} \tau \omega \nu$ , and no variant is recorded. Here the  $\omega$  seems almost certain, and though the remaining dotted letters are all extremely doubtful it is difficult



to see what else can be read, though the exact form of the abbreviation may be open to question.

55. ΔΕ (so S.) after ΕΤΕΡΩ om. also by *M*<sub>2</sub> *H*<sup>δ</sup> 1-2\* 3 78 2 356 *I*<sup>α1</sup> 1026 ff it vg *K*λ.

56. ΔΕ: so S.; om. *M*<sub>2</sub> *H*<sup>δ</sup> 356 *I*<sup>α1</sup> 1026\* it vg. arm.

58 f. ΠΑΝΤΑ ΔΕ ΤΑ[ΥΤΑ]: so S.; many authorities (incl. 1026 ff) have ΤΑΥΤΑ ΔΕ ΠΑΝΤΑ.

62. S. ἰδίᾳ ἐλάσσων. There is not room for both here. The very slight trace visible suits ω better than λ, and the space is strongly in favour of [ΕΚΛΑΤ]ω, omitting ΙΔΙΑ (so *I*<sup>α1</sup> 1026 ff c1 158 it vg sy<sup>p</sup> Ωρ Αθ 2: 2 Bxσ Eπiτ), rather than [ΙΔΙ]λ, omitting ΕΚΛΑΤω (so *I*<sup>α1</sup> 1056).

69. We should expect [Τ]ΟC ΠΟ[ΛΛΑ ΟΗΤΑ] but this is impossible, as is also ΤΟΥ Ε||[Π]ΟC ΠΟ[ΛΛΑ (see S.), but [Π]ΟΛΛ[Α] is perhaps possible. This however gives a very short line.

72. Considerations of space make it likely that ΕΗ was omitted before ΕΗ, as also in *I*<sup>α1</sup> 1028 f d *K*λ. But perhaps the MS. had [ΕΗ ᾠ ΠΗ].

73. So, for ΗΜΕΙC ΠΑΝΤΕC (S.), *I*<sup>α2</sup> 367 vg. But the reading is excessively doubtful, and ΗΜΕ[ΙC] cannot be regarded as impossible.

87—89. The readings are not certain. S. has ταῖς δὲ φρεσὶν τέλεισι γίνεσθαι, but quotes from *I*<sup>α1</sup> 1028 f it the reading ΠΑ ΤΑΙC . . . ΓΕΝΗCΘΕ. Here ΠΑ seems impossible, and ΤΑΙC is extremely probable; but in l. 89 η seems certain. The space however seems insufficient for γε and rather too large to suppose that ΤΕΛΙΟΙ ΓΕ] came in l. 88; hence we may perhaps read γι, and the whole passage is a conflation of the S. text and the variant, with the alteration of ΓΕΝ. to ΓΗ.

89. ΕΗ ΠΟΜΩ: there is not room for ΕΗ ΤΩ ΠΟΜΩ, and a word must have been omitted, no doubt by an oversight. Of the two, considerations of space favour ΤΩ.

91. As letters (even the same letters) vary somewhat in breadth, we may, in view of the certain CΑΙC, read [ΕΤ]ΕΡ[ΑΙC ΓΑ]ΩC (so *I*<sup>α1</sup> 1028 f it vg), rather than suppose an erroneous [ΕΤ]ΕΡ[ΟΓΑ]ΩC CΑΙC, though ΟΓΑ is slightly better suited to the space.

95f. ΚΑ[Ι ΟΥΔΕΠΩ]: S. καὶ οὐδ' οὕτως, and since the fragment containing, in col. 1, the number ΡΜΖ and, in col. 2, ll. 96—8, is detached from the rest, it is not possible to say for certain that that was not the reading here; but ΟΥΔ ΟΥ would certainly have made l. 95 project into the margin, and ΤΩC in l. 96 would indicate a lacuna difficult to fill in l. 97, since ΤΑ would be too short and CONΤΑ (no other division is likely) too long. For ΟΥΔΕΠΩ S. quotes *I<sup>a</sup> 1028f* (gg<sup>f</sup>). The same authorities, with Θδτ, read ΕΙCΑΚΟΥCΕΤΑΙ, and in l. 97 CΕΤΑ, as against ΤΩC in l. 96, would be more manageable than CONΤΑ, but on the whole the readings in the text seem the most likely.

98. Very puzzling. S., who has λέγει κύριος. ὥστε αἱ γλῶσσαι, quotes no variants to either reading; so that the text here given involves two unrecorded variants, one of them an obvious blunder, but it seems difficult to escape from it, as all the letters  $\overline{\iota\epsilon}$  ΑΙ are practically certain;  $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$  does not seem possible. ΑΙΟ, though not recorded, is an easy variant; ο  $\overline{\iota\epsilon}$  might arise from the scribe's misunderstanding an abbreviated gloss giving a reference to ΗC(ΑΙΑC).

103. The traces read εἰ are very faint; of the Α at the end very little remains. Between it and ο there is a piece of vellum, but the traces which are visible are too indistinct for any reading. Several of the readings of individual letters in ll. 104 and 105 are doubtful, but the text seems established. πιστεύουσιν is the reading of S.; *I<sup>a</sup> 1028f* vg<sup>f</sup> have πιστοῖς.

106. ΟΥΗ: the letters are not perfectly clear, but ο seems certain. This involves the reading given in the text (so S.) as against *I<sup>a</sup> 1028f<sup>2</sup>* etc., which omit ΟΥΗ and *I<sup>b</sup> 2 260*, which have CYHICEΛΘΗ.

109f. The K reading, against most of the H MSS. and *I<sup>a</sup> 1026ff* etc., is ΓΛΩCΘΗC ΑΛΛΩCΗ.

110. Most of the dotted letters are very doubtful, and the reading cannot be absolutely vouched for. The Α, though faint, is probable, but ε has disappeared from the surface of the papyrus.

111. ΚΑΙ: so (against S.) *I<sup>a</sup> 200<sup>2</sup> 56 359 b2 δ 368*. *H<sup>δ</sup> 1* omits Η ΑΠΙCΤΟΙ.

115. It does not seem possible that room can be found in the lacuna for ΤΕΥΩCΙΝΙC. Probably there was an accidental omission or a false reading (*e. g.* ΠΡΟΦΗΤΑΙ). Even ΤΙC ΑΠΙC in l. 116 is a good deal for the space, and possibly ΤΙC was omitted, with  $H^{\delta 48} \Omega^{\delta 1:1}$ .

118. The ε is just above the π at the beginning of l. 119. Perhaps therefore the apparent λ is not really a letter, and we should read [ΤΗC] ε[ΛΕΓΧΕΤΑ]Ι.

121. So S. The *K* text inserts ΚΑΙ ΟΥΤΩC before ΤΑ.

122. The vellum is much blackened at the beginning of this and the following lines, and the dotted π and κ are very indistinct, as are φΑΠΕ in l. 123.

124—126. Very difficult. Considerations of space seem to make it certain that the text of S. (which, apart from unimportant variants, is well established) cannot be found here, and we must suppose either a real variant not met with elsewhere or a mere blunder. The reading given, if established, may be the latter, but προπεσών for πεσών ἐπὶ πρόσωπον is quite possible, and a real variant seems more likely. It cannot indeed be regarded as certain but seems the likeliest. ΚΑΙ is very indistinct but quite possible, ο probable. At the end of l. 124 ΡΟ can be accepted with some confidence, and CΠ are not difficult to read. Ο[ . . . ]C suggests Ο[ΥΤΩ]C, ω being a broad letter. In l. 125 ΠΕC is likelier than ΠΟΠ; and though ΠΡΟ[CΩ] might be read in l. 124 if we suppose the vellum to have been rubbed as well as discoloured, this is not very satisfactory; nor does it seem possible to read ΚΑΙ Ε[ΠΙ ΠΡ]ΟCΩ; the ρ is almost certain.

127—8. The readings at the end of 127 are very doubtful, and at the beginning of 128, though the vellum is whole, the traces are too much obliterated for any reading, but as ΟΥΤΩ[C] seems certain, the above text, that of *K*, is established.

129. ΟΥ̅: the stroke (for π) is not certain, but π was certainly not written at the beginning of l. 130.

132. *K* adds ΥΝΩΠ after ΕΚΑCΤΟC.

140. ΡΕΙ]: this is likelier than ρΙ for reasons of space.

141. ΠΕC[ΘΩ · ΕΙΤΕ]: the dot is inserted because without it (or a blank space) the line would be rather short.

144—146. S.'s text is τὸ πλεῖστον τρεῖς καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος καὶ εἰς διερμηνεύτω. The only likely variants are πλεῖστον (*I<sup>h</sup> 365<sup>a</sup>*) and εἰς ΔΕ (*I<sup>a</sup> 3 106*). As the lines vary somewhat in length and i may be written for εἰ and the numbers be represented by figures (ι' and λ') it is impossible with any confidence to fill up the lacunae here.

147. [ΤΩ: or possibly this concluded l. 146.

[ΕΡ]Μ[ΗΝΕ]Υ[ΤΗC: as the Μ is very probable, ΔΙΕΡΜΗΝΕΥΤΗC (S.) would involve reading [ΔΙΕΡ] in l. 147, for which there seems hardly room. The reading in the text is that of *H<sup>2</sup> 1 I<sup>a</sup> 1 1026<sup>ff</sup>*, etc.

150. ΕΛΥΤΩ: so S.; ΛΥΤΩ *I<sup>a</sup> 1 1028 f.*

153—163. It has not been possible to identify this fragment. The only complete word is CΩΜΑ (the point after it, which is all but certain, shows it is nom. or acc. sing., not, e. g., CΩΜΑ ΤΟC), and the traces would suit excellently the passage 12, 12:

[ΤΟC ΠΟΛΛΑ] ΟΥΤΑ

[ΕΙ ΕCΤΙΝ] CΩΜΑ

[ΟΥΤΩC Κ]ΑΙ Ο ΧC

In l. 153 η could be read, though less suitable than μ; in l. 155 xC̄ is almost as likely as κC̄; and before it κ]ΑΙ is actually suggested. Unfortunately 12, 12 comes in fragm. 1 b, col. 2; and the certain second column here therefore makes that position impossible.

Besides this fragment a few yet smaller scraps remain, too small and too much defaced to yield anything of interest.

#### 10. Galatians. (Coptic.)

The top of a small leaf, paged  $\overline{\alpha}$ ,  $\overline{\epsilon}$ , preserves *Galatians* I, 1, 6, 7, in one column of a small, rounded hand. The text appears to coincide with HORNER'S.



## 11. I Peter. (Coptic.)

ΠΗΤ]Ι ΤΕΤ  
 [ΠΕΕΕΤ ΑΛΛ]Α ΕΩΧΕ  
 [Τ]ΕΤΗΕΙΡΕ ΜΠΕΤΙΑ-  
 ΝΟΥÇ ΕΣΙΟΥΕ ΕΡΩΤΗ  
 5 ΤΕΤΠΕΕΕΤ ΠΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΟΥΖ-  
 ΜΟΤΠΕ ΠΗΛΑΡΠΠΟΥΤΕ  
 ΠΤΑΥΤΕΣΜΤΗΥΤΗ ΕΠΑΙ  
 ΧΕΠΕΧΣ ΖΩΩÇ ΑÇΩΠ ΖΙ-  
 ΣΕ ΖΑΡΩΤΗ ΕÇΚΩ ΠΗ[ΤΗ]  
 10 ΠΠΟΥÇΜΟ[Τ

## I Peter II, 20, 21.

This passage is not preserved elsewhere, but the last phrase is quoted by Shenoute (1). Its only remarkable reading is γάρ in v. 20.

## 12. Revelation. (Greek.)

In Brit. Mus. Pap. 2241. A small scrap of light-coloured papyrus contains a portion of *Rev.* 2. 12—13 and 15. 8—16. 2, in two rough, inelegant, sloping hands, probably of the 7th century. That the hands of recto and verso are different seems certain. Since, though the lines were certainly long, it is hardly possible that the two sides of a single sheet can have contained respectively chapters 2 and 15 if the text was continuous, we must conclude that the MS. contained extracts only; perhaps a lectionary or other liturgical work. This is supported by the fact that the writing on the verso is the opposite way up from that on the recto, which suggests that the fragment is from a roll rather than a codex; the roll form was specially favoured for liturgical purposes. Too little remains for the fragments to possess much textual value. So far as can be judged from the scanty relics, the text appears to agree with *H* rather than *K* or *I* (for these and other symbols see 9, introd.), but as this conclusion is inferred from considerations of space, not got directly from the extant portions, it cannot be regarded with great confidence.

(1) AMÉLINEAU, *Œuvres de S.* I, 27.



and 7; hence the numbers allowed for the corresponding lacunae must be reduced to 57 or 58 and to 66 or 67 respectively. The average may probably be fixed therefore (if we disregard l. 8) at about 65—66. To omit  $\epsilon\kappa\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\gamma\ \mu\alpha\omicron\upsilon\gamma$  would reduce the number to 60. Any variants known for the passage in l. 6 would tend to increase rather than diminish the number of letters lost, and in l. 8  $\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  may have occurred after  $\pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\varsigma$  (so  $I^{a1}\ 501$  and other MSS.). On the whole, then, the *H I* rather than the *K* text seems more likely here, but there is really very little to choose in point of probability.

9.  $\tau\eta\nu\ \epsilon\iota\lambda\acute{o}\nu\alpha$ , as against  $\tau\tilde{\eta}\ \epsilon\iota\lambda\acute{o}\nu\iota$  (S.) is the reading of many representatives of *I<sup>a</sup>*.

## Theological.

### 13. Liturgy (?). (Greek.)

Two fragments of patterned ware. In a minuscule hand of Greek type. The probable  $\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\eta\sigma\omicron\nu$  of ll. 3 and 4 makes it likely that this is liturgical.

                                  ]η μονογενης γιο[  
                                  λ]γιας θεοτοκου και παρ[θενου  
                                  ?ελεης]ον ημωη[  
                                  ]ε[.]ελεγσιον τω[η  
                                  ]                                  γιογ κ[

1. Before γιο[ $\varsigma$ , ο can perhaps be read.

3. Cf. l. 4.

4. ελεγσιον: apparently =  $\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\eta\sigma\omicron\nu$ .

### 14. Creed. (Coptic.)

                                  +                                  +                                  [+]  
                                  τενηπιστευε ε[ππουτε ππαντ]ωκ-  
                                  ρατωρ πνηταβτα[μιο η]νητεπαλυ ερ-  
                                  οογ μνηνητεπαλυ [εροογ αν λ]γω ουχοεις πογωτ ις πε-  
                                  χς πωηρε νογ[ωτ                                  ]η νταπιωτ  
5 εποχ 2αθ[η                                  ]ηλκω]η πογο-  
                                  ειν π.[  
                                  ση[.

## Fragments of a Creed (1).

"We believe in [God, the Al]mighty, He that created the things we see and those we see [not.] And in one Lord, Jesus, the Christ, the only Son [ ? ] he(?) whom the Father begat before [all ages.] Light of [light . . .]"

## 15. Liturgical fragment. (Coptic.)

A small double leaf (each  $9 \times 8$  cm), with a text in one column and 12 lines of thick, square uncials, of about the 7th century, comes perhaps from a hymn or other liturgical book. It is interesting as an instance of pure Fayyûmic dialect, which, but for the trading relations between the two districts, which our texts show, one would not expect to find in use so far south. The text, but partly legible, is composed of biblical or semi-biblical phrases. At the end of each section was a title(?), in the form of subscription, now quite illegible. The verso (?) of fol. 1 (?) has, as col. 1:

Ⲛ ⲃⲟⲕ ⲛⲓⲡⲉⲕⲉⲗ | -ⲁⲛⲧ ⲙⲫⲓⲧ [ . . . ] ⲱ | ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲕ [ . . . . ]  
 ⲙⲙⲁⲥ ⲭ[ . . . . ] | ⲃⲗⲗ ⲛⲕ . [ . . ] ⲡ | -ⲉⲗ ⲁⲛⲧⲃⲉ [ ⲭ ] ⲉⲟⲩ-  
 ⲱⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲛⲓⲥ ⲟⲩ | -ⲛⲁⲛⲧⲡⲉ ⲡⲟⲥ | ⲛⲧⲁⲥⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲛⲉ |  
 -ⲧⲱⲱ [ ⲃⲉ ] ⲡⲛⲕ ⲙ | -ⲡ [ ⲉⲕⲁⲓⲧ ] ⲩⲙⲗ ⲁ [ ⲉ ] ⲛⲟ [ ⲩⲥ ] ⲁⲩⲧⲛ

The recto of this leaf begins:

ⲉⲗⲓⲗ ⲉⲗⲁⲕ ⲉⲛ | ⲧ[ . . ⲡ ] ⲧⲁⲕ ⲁⲩⲕ

## 16. Liturgical fragment. (Coptic.)

Likewise intended for liturgical use — a "choir slip" perhaps — was a leaf of papyrus, whereof a fragment,  $7 \times 7$  cm, shows upon one side the broken beginnings of a text composed

(1) A creed in Coptic, similar to this, is found in the MS. whence parts of my text in the *Papyruscodex saec. VI—VII* is taken (v. Einleitung XIV). It is in Paris 129<sup>14</sup>, f. 63 and runs: "... one Lord, Jesus the Christ, the son of God, the only-begotten, whom the Father begat before all ages. Light &c." The formula approximates to the so called Nicæno-Constantinopolitan Creed. Cf. the current Jacobite version with similar features, Cairo *Euchologion* 1902, p. 290.



of sentences apparently not biblical, though in biblical phraseology. The script is but semi-literary: perhaps of the 7th century.

*Verso* is blank.

ⲡ ⲛⲉⲛⲓⲟⲟⲩⲉ ⲥⲓⲱ[ⲛ | ⲛⲭⲟⲓⲥ ⲉⲕ[ⲉ]ⲱ[ | ⲥⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲕ : / ⲛ |  
ⲙⲕⲁⲛⲓ ⲛⲛⲓⲧ [ | ⲉⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲛ[ | ⲥⲓⲱ ⲛⲉⲧⲭⲓ [ | ] ⲛⲛⲁ ⲛⲟⲓⲁⲛ[ⲙ

### 17. Homiletic Work. (Coptic.)

A tattered leaf of fine, thin parchment, 12 × 10.5 (?) cm. when complete, written in 1 column of 18 lines, in a beautiful, somewhat sloping hand, with features recalling the "2nd scribe" of the *Pistis* (1), Brit. Mus. 509, the Achmimic *Jude* (2) and especially certain Greek hands of the 3rd—4th cent. (3). V. Pl. I. The text is presumably homiletic, its subject being the first Passover and the Exodus (4). The occurrence of the words *μυστήριον* and *σφραγίζειν* perhaps points to a pre-Nicene writer; the form *ⲛⲛⲟ* to an early stage of the language. The leaf is paged (on *verso*) 4ⲁ.

ⲙⲱⲩⲥⲏⲥ· ⲉⲓⲥ ⲛⲛⲧⲉ ⲓⲁⲣ ⲛⲉ  
ⲭⲁⲕ ⲉⲕⲉⲭⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲥⲟⲟⲩ ⲉⲕⲟⲩⲟⲭ  
ⲉⲙ'ⲙⲛ̅ ⲧⲭⲱⲛ (5) ⲛⲛⲧⲧⲭ̅ ⲛ̅ⲓⲱⲁ  
ⲁⲧⲭ̅ ⲙ̅ⲛⲛⲟⲩ̅ ⲛ̅ⲣⲟⲩⲩⲉ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ⲛ̅ⲱⲛ  
ⲣⲉ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ' ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲧⲛⲟⲩⲟⲙⲭ̅ ⲛ̅  
ⲧⲉⲩⲱⲛ ⲛ̅ⲛⲟⲩⲉⲛⲛ̅· ⲛ̅ⲛⲉⲧⲛ̅  
ⲟⲩⲱⲱⲭ̅ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲱⲁ· ⲛ̅ⲛⲧⲧⲭ̅·  
ⲉⲕⲉⲁⲥ, ⲛⲉⲭⲁⲕ ⲛ̅ⲧⲉⲉ[. .] ⲛ̅ⲟⲩ  
ⲟⲩⲱⲛ ⲛ̅ⲟⲩⲱⲧ· ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛⲉⲟⲩⲟⲙⲭ̅  
ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲛⲉⲧⲙ̅ⲛⲁⲧⲣⲓⲁ ⲙ̅ⲛⲉⲧⲛ̅  
ⲁⲛⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲣⲉⲛⲉⲧⲛ̅ⲧⲛⲉ [  
ⲉⲣⲉⲛⲉⲧⲛ̅[ⲧⲟⲟ]ⲩⲉ ⲛ̅ⲣⲁⲧ[ⲧⲛⲩ]  
ⲧⲛ̅· ⲉⲣⲉ[ⲛⲉⲧ] ⲛ̅ⲉⲣⲟⲟⲱⲛ ⲛ̅ⲛⲉ[  
ⲧⲛ̅ⲉⲓⲭ· ⲛ̅ⲁⲓ[ⲓ]ⲁⲣⲛⲉ ⲛ̅ⲛⲁⲥⲭⲁ

(1) V. CRUM, *Coptic MSS.* p. 3 n. and HYVERNAT, *Album* II.

(2) CRUM, *op. cit.*, pl. I.

(3) P. Oxyg. 847, P. Ryl. (Gk.) 53.

(4) Cf. Ex. XII.

(5) ⲧ presumably the result of following ⲭ.

ἄρχοις ἢ[ῤ] μεεγε ἡψα  
 [ε]πεε ἡψῃρε ἡπῆλ· εἰετ[ηε]  
 χι δε ἡπεσποч ἡπεσοу ἡ[τε]  
 τῆωск [ῤ]моч εἰογсс[ро](1)

9A

εἰογῃε (2)

ἡπῆετ'οῦλ ἡῤο ἡπῆετῆε  
 εὔμαεῖν ἡπαγγελοс· εἰс зη  
 ητε †ηαπατассε ἡκῆε  
 ἡῤ' ατ'ῳηре зпоуоуῳη ἡ  
 оуот· χῖηῤωме ψαηте  
 ηооуе· тоте мωῡснс аψω  
 ωт' ἡπεσοу ἡтеуῳη аχωк'  
 εвоа ἡпмустῆριон ἡῤῳη  
 [р]ε ἡπῆλ· асфραгize ἡῤο  
 ἡῤεἰ εὔареε, ἡπλалос· аῡω  
 [εὔм]аεῖν ἡπαγγελοс· ἡτεροу  
 [ψω]ωт' де ῤ[. .]πεсоу(3) аῡоу  
 [ω]м ἡппасха· аῡ[χω]к εвоа ῤ  
 пмустῆριон· [а]усфραгize ῤ  
 пῆλ· асεуф[р]аηε ἡεἰ плалос·  
 тоте де асεἰ ἡεἰ паγγελο[с]  
 [εпа]тассε ἡκῆε петемῤ  
 [..]ἡпмустῆριон[.] петем

] Moses. "For lo", said He, "thou shalt take a sheep that is whole and wherein is no blemish and thou shalt slay it at eventime with the children of Israel; and ye shall eat it at night in haste. Ye shall not break a bone of it. Thou shalt do it", said He, "[. . .] in a single night, ye eating it according to (πατρά) your father's-houses (πατρία) and your families (δῆμος); your loins [being girt], your shoes on your feet, your staves in your hands. For this is the Passover (πάσχα) of the Lord, an everlasting remembrance for the children of Israel. But (δέ) ye

(1) Not space in gap for CNTE.

(2) Or εἰογῃε. The script is small and faded. Is εἰογῃε, or μογῃε, a variant of τοῦλ? Cf. Ex. XII, 7.

(3) Undoubtedly a gap after M.

shall take the blood of the sheep and shall smear it upon the door-posts (verso, p. 94) and the lintels of the doors of your houses, for a sign unto the angel (ἄγγ.). Lo, I will smite (πατάσσειν) Egypt and it shall be childless, in a single night, from the men to the cattle". Then (τότε) Moses slew the sheep at night and fulfilled the mystery (μυστήριον) with the children of Israel. He sealed (σφραγίζειν) the doors of the houses for a protection unto the people (λαός) and for a sign unto the angel (ἄγγ.). And (δέ) after they had slain the sheep they ate the Passover (πάσχα) and fulfilled the mystery (μυστ.) and Israel was sealed (σφ.) and the people (λαός) rejoiced (εὐφραίνεσθαι). And then (τότε δέ) came the angel (ἄγγ.) to(?) smite (πατ.) Egypt. Whoso had not [received(?)] the mystery (μυστ.), whoso had not [

### 18. Apophthegm. (Coptic.)

Written on a wall.

From CAMPBELL THOMPSON'S copy.

ΑΒΧΟΟC  
ΠΕΙ ΟΥΖΑΛΟ  
ΧΕΙΩΑΠΠΛΥ  
ΕΥΩΩΤ Ν  
5 ΠΑΣΟΝ ΤΑ  
ΧΕΟΥ ΠΕΙ  
ΧΑΒ ΧΗ  
ΜΜΑΝ

3. Copy ΧΡΙ.

7. Copy ΑΗ.

6. Copy ΟΧΠΘΙ.

8. Copy Μ[ ]ΜΑΝ.

An Apophthegm (1) (the readings whereof are very uncertain) beginning, "An elder said, When I see a fault (?) in my brother, what shall I say?"

(1) Apophthegmata adorn the walls of a tomb at Faras, Nubia, and will be published by Mr. GRIFFITH.

## Medical, Magical.

### 19. Almanac. (Coptic.)

A fragment of papyrus, 6.5 × 8.5 cm, has, on one side only (1), parts of 10 lines in a sloping, non-literary hand of the 6th or 7th century. The text is of a kind very rarely preserved in Coptic: it is the remains of an almanac of lucky and unlucky days connected with the moon, somewhat similar to that described by KRALL (2). Cf. also Brit. Mus. 523. The extent of the parts lost, on all 4 sides, is unknown.

4] ΠΑΩΠΕ ΕΘΟΥΤΒ ΕΝΕΘΕ[  
    ]Ε(3) ΠΡΕΘΜΩΕ ΠΚΑΤΑΦΡΟΠΤ[ΗC  
    ]Ω4' (4) ΠΠΛΜΟΥ· ΠΕΤΠΛΩΩ[(5)  
    ] ΠΠΛΩΠ } ΠΔ } ———[  
 5 ΠΠΟΟ2 ΨΑΡΕΠΟΟ2 ΨΑ' ΧΙΠΠΜΑ[(6)  
    ]CΩΜΑ' ΠΜΑΤΕ ΠΓΟΥΠΟ4' Μ[ΠΟΚ  
    Α]ΠΛΓΚΑΙΟΠ· ΠΠΛΠΟΥ4 ΕΟΥΩΤ2[(7)  
    4]ΠΠΛΩΠ (8) ΠΕΤΠΛΩΠΕ' ΠΠΛ2ΙCΕ[  
       Π]2ΟΟΥΤ' ΠΠΛΩΠΕ ΕΥΤCΑΒΗ[Υ  
 10 2]ΩΩC' ΝΘΕ' ΠΠ2ΟΟΥ[Τ

### A small fragment

]ΠΠ.Α.ΠΠ[(9)  
 Ρ]ΟΠΠΕ ΠΠΟΟ[2

... he] shall excel his (*plur.*) (10) . . . . . become (?) quarrelsome and haughty (χαταεργονητής) . . . . . he too(?) (11) shall die Those

- (1) The MS. may therefore have been in roll form.
- (2) The Rainer *Mitt.* V, 30.
- (3) ? ΩΠΠ]Ε.
- (4) 2ΩΩ4. A trace of 1st Ω is visible.
- (5) ? ΩΩ[ΠΕ.
- (6) ? ΜΑ[ΠΩΛ.
- (7) Apparently not ΟΥΩΤΒ.
- (8) No stop here, by error probably.
- (9) Or ]ΙCΠΓΑ. ΠΚ[.
- (10) Possibly "his fellows", ΠΕΘΕΡΗΥ.
- (11) Or "but he", "he however".



that are (?) (1) . . . . . it shall be hidden (2) — (Day) 14 —  
 . . . . . [5] of?] the moon. The moon riseth from the east (?) (3)  
 . . . . . body (σῶμα) alone and thou shalt (?) (4) rejoice . . . . .  
 needful (ἀναγκαῖον) (5). It is good (on this day) to pour forth (?) (6)  
 . . . . . it] shall be hidden. Whoso shall become sick shall  
 suffer (7) . . . . . male (child?), he shall become wise (8) . . . . .  
 [10] she] also, even as the male . . . . .

The small fragment mentions the "year of the moon".

## 20. Recipes. (Coptic.)

+ ΕΤΒΕΟΥΛ ΕΡΕΖΗΤ[  
 Ν]ΕΧΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ ΝΗCΩ[  
 ΝΤΗΗ]ΒΕ ΝΤΕΚΕΙΧ ΟΥΛΑΖΟΥ[  
 Ν]ΓΧΟΟC ΧΕΙΛΩ ΙΛΩ[  
 5 ]ΠΩΝΕ ΕΤΗΝΖΗΤΥ [  
 Ο]ΥΛΑCΦΑΛΤΟΝ ΜΗ[  
 ].ΛΘΟΙ ΤΑΛΥ ΕΞΡΑΙ 2[  
 ]ΕΤΒΕΠΕΧΑΛΚΙΟΝ [  
 ]ΜΠΟΥΠΟΟΠΕ[

Medical recipes, very obscure owing to incompleteness.  
 In 1. 4 magical names are invoked.

"Concerning one whose (?) belly [            ] his feet and  
 he (9) . . . [            ] fingers of thy hand; lay them [            ]  
 and say: Ιαô, Ιαô [    |5| ] the sickness (10) wherein he is [            ]

- 
- (1) *Plur.* certain. Possibly "those that become sick", as in 8.  
 (2) Refers presumably to the moon, as in 8.  
 (3) *Lit.* "places of rising", but the reading is doubtful.  
 (4) Tense uncertain, since it depends upon that of preceding (lost) verb  
 (5) Or "valuable".  
 (6) Or "melt", as of metals.  
 (7) Or "have trouble, difficulty"; or if a participle followed, "strive".  
 (8) *Lit.* "instructed, educated".  
 (9) "Drink" possible, but improbable.  
 (10) ΩΠΩΝΕ just possible.

] bitumen (1) and [ ] (2); place them on [ ]  
 .] Concerning (3) the cauldron [ ] they have not  
 changed '(or been moved) ..."

## 21. Recipes. (Coptic.)

From CAMPBELL THOMPSON'S copy.

]ΚΩΠ  
 ]ΤΕ  
 ]ΚΑΡΙΟC  
 ]ΠΠΕ ΜΠΑΩ  
 5 Π]Ε2ΜΟΜ ΕΤΩΛΒΕ ΠΘΕΡΙΚΟΝ  
 ]ΛΙΘC ΣΗΗΠΙ ΣΙΝΕ2 ΜΕ †Ι ΕΧΩΒ  
 ]ΟΥΒΑΛ ΕΒ† ΜΟΛΛΥ Λ. ΠΕ ΠΒΑΛ ΠΑΒ  
 [Ω]Κ ΣΙΜΟΟΥ ΠΕΜΧΩΛ ΣΙΒΙΩ †ΕΙ ΕΟ[  
 ]ΟΥΜΟΠΕ ΟΥCΙΩC ΠΒΑΜΠΕ ΣΙΒΙΩ Π[

Medical recipes, written upon a plastered wall. (4)

L. 5 "... the] fever which (5) the medicaments (?θηριακόν)  
 ..... and wine and olive oil (6). Apply (7) them to it .....  
 An eye that waters: ... of raven's eye (8) and water of onions  
 and honey. Apply (them) to [it ..... a goat's gall and honey ..."

(1) Ἀσφαλτος occurs in HALL'S recipes (*Copt. and Gk. Texts* p. 65).

(2) Not Τ]ΑΛΘΟΙ. The letter before Λ is an upright one.

(3) Presumably another recipe, though the first words hardly support this.

(4) Solomon is said to have written many such recipes upon the Temple walls (BUDGE, *Copt. Apocr.* 69). Monk's cell walls used for writing: Thos. of Marga, *Bk. of Governors* (BUDGE) II, 178, 458, and the Saqqara text cited below.

(5) Reading ΕΤΩΛΒΕ-, for ΕΤΩΛΒΕ "swollen", is unlikely as applied to a fever.

(6) ΠΠΕ ΜΠΕ lit. „genuine oil". Cf. *ÄZ.* XL, 132 n., Ryl. p. 58 n. Boh., *CSCO.* 43, 235.

(7) This form of † recurs *Saqqara* no. 103, likewise a medical recipe.

(8) Equated with καρπός ἐλτηνική, ZOEGL 629. In a Balaiza frag. it occurs in a list of vegetables.

## Mathematical.

## 22. Multiplication Tables.

Three fragments. Tables for 6 and 7. The arrangement is like that in our arithmetics, not like that in the following ostrakon, where each ratio is given twice, in opposite ways. For such tables cf. B. M. 528, where, however, the table is not continuous but in the form " $7 \times 1 = 7$ ,  $7 \times 10 = 70$ ,  $7 \times 100 = 700$ ", etc.

Π	ρ	Α	ρ	Ζ	Α	Ζ	Ζ	Θ	ΞΓ
	ρ	Β	ΙΒ	Ζ	Β	ΙΑ.	Ζ	Ι	Ο
	ρ	Γ	ΙΗ	Ζ	Γ	ΚΑ			
	ρ	Δ	ΚΑ.	Ζ	Δ	ΚΗ			
	ρ	Ε	Α	Ζ	Ε	ΛΕ			
6	ρ	ρ	Αρ	Ζ	ρ	ΜΒ			
	ρ	Ζ	ΜΒ	Ζ	Ζ	ΜΘ			
	ρ	Η	ΜΗ	Ζ	Η	Πρ			
	ρ	Θ	ΠΑ.						

On the left edge

10 ρ Ι Ζ

" $6 \times 1 = 6$ ,  $6 \times 2 = 12$ ,  $6 \times 3 = 18$ ", etc. " $7 \times 1 = 7$ ,  $7 \times 2 = 14$ ", etc., up to 10 in each case.

## 23. Multiplication Table.

Table for 7, given in double form,  $7 \times x$ ,  $x \times 7$ . The ostrakon is apparently a palimpsest, a previous text having been washed off.

Π	ρ	Α	Ζ	Ζ	ρ	[
	ρ	Α	Ζ	Ζ	ρ	Ζ
	ρ	Β	ΙΑ.		Ζ	Ζ
	ρ	Β	Ζ	ΙΑ.	.	[
5	ρ	Γ	ΚΑ		Ζ	[
	ρ	Γ	Ζ	ΚΑ	[	

" $7 \times 1 = 7$ ,  $1 \times 7 = 7$ ,  $7 \times 2 = 14$ ,  $2 \times 7 = 14$ ", etc.; the table is preserved only as far as " $7 \times 7 [= 49]$ ."

1. After the second  $z$  is visible a  $\bar{r}$ , part of the earlier text.

4. The character before the break is probably no part of the present text.

#### 24—28. Tables of Fractions.

The five following ostraca contain tables of fractions similar to those which occur in the Akhmîm mathematical papyrus (*Mém. Miss. Arch. Française*, IX, 1892), ff. 1—2b, and in B. M. 528. Tables of this kind are discussed, and translations given of two other examples, in SETHE, *Von Zahlen und Zahlworten bei den alten Ägyptern* (*Schr. d. Wiss. Ges. in Straßburg*, 25. Heft), 1916, pp. 69—72, to which reference may be made; and a papyrus brought from Egypt in the winter of 1921 and now in the University of Michigan contains an elaborate collection of such tables, the utility, indeed necessity, of which, given the Graeco-Egyptian system of fractions, is obvious. The present ostraca were probably used by the monastic accountants as ready reckoners.

The occurrence, certainly in 26 and possibly in the others, of a mysterious heading which occurs in the tables of the Akhmîm papyrus suggests that the present ostraca were copied from a similar or perhaps the same compilation as that papyrus.

We are indebted to a late colleague at the War Office, Mrs. DAVEY, for some help in connexion with these documents.

24.

Table for  $\frac{1}{7}$ .

†	TO	z	Δ	z/	KH ?
	ΤΩΗ	Δ	z/		
	ΤΩΗ	Ε	Δ'	KH	
	ΤΩΗ	Γ	Δ'	Δ'	ME
5	ΤΩΗ	Δ	Δ	Δ	
	ΤΩΗ	Ε	Δ	Δ'	
	ΤΩΗ	Γ	Δ	Δ'	ME



ΤΩΝ Ζ Α  
 ΤΩΝ Η Α Ζ/  
 10 ΤΩΝ Θ Α Α' ΚΗ

“ $\frac{1}{7} : \frac{1}{4}$  of  $\frac{1}{7} = [\frac{1}{28} ? \dots]$  ( $\frac{1}{7}$  of)  $1 = \frac{1}{7}$ , of  $2 = \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{28}$ , of  
 $3 = \frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{14} \frac{1}{42}$ , of  $4 = \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{14}$ , of  $5 = \frac{2}{3} \frac{1}{21}$ , of  $6 = \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{42}$ , of  
 $7 = 1$ , of  $8 = 1\frac{1}{7}$ , of  $9 = 1\frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{28} \dots$ ”

1. The reading and supplement are suggested by 26 and CRUM, *Copt. Ostr.* 480, where at the head of the tables fractions of the fraction concerned are given, but the trace before the break does not greatly favour  $z/$ . ΑΡΙ[ΘΜΩ, as in the Akhmīm papyrus, seems impossible.

4.  $\overline{O}$ : for this symbol for  $\frac{1}{3}$  see P. Lond. v 1718, 60 and index to that volume.

6.  $\varsigma$ : this symbol (varied by  $\varsigma$ , as in 25) for  $\frac{2}{3}$  is not uncommon. For other forms see P. Lond. V, Index 7(a).

## 25.

Another table for  $\frac{1}{7}$ , but, unlike the last, ending with the number 7.

$\dagger \cdot \text{TO} \cdot \text{Z} / : \text{A} \cdot [ \text{Z} / \text{KH} ?$   


---

 ΤΩΝ Α. Ζ/  
 ΤΩΝ Β. Α'. ΚΗ  
 ΤΩΝ Γ.  $\overline{O}$  ΙΑ. Μ[Β]  
 5 ΤΩΝ Δ.  $\perp$  ΙΔ.  
 ΤΩΝ Ε.  $\varsigma$  ΚΑ'  
 ΤΩΝ Ϝ.  $\perp$   $\overline{O}$ ' ΜΒ  


---

 ΤΩΝ Ζ Α

1. For Α'  $z/$  ΚΗ see note on 24, 1. Here Α[ΡΙΘΜΩ could also be read.



Convex: " $(\frac{1}{25})$  of 11 =  $\frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{14} \frac{1}{42} [\frac{1}{150} \frac{1}{210}]$ ." Concave: " $(\frac{1}{49})$  of 7 =  $\frac{1}{7} \dots (\frac{1}{7})$  of 7 = 1, of 8 =  $1 \frac{1}{7}$ , of 9 =  $1 \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{28} \dots$ ."

## 28.

It is not certain that this is really, like the preceding texts, a table of fractions (the integral numbers divided in ll. 4 and 5 are higher than elsewhere, and l. 6 does not very well suit the hypothesis); but on the whole it seems likely.

$\tau \omega \eta$  [  
 $] \tau \omega \eta$  [  
 $] \tau \omega \eta$  [  
 $] \epsilon \tau \omega \eta \phi$  [  
5  $] \epsilon \tau \omega \eta \chi$  [  
 $] \epsilon \mu$  [

## Stelae and Graffiti.

The inscriptions here selected, as the more legible and interesting, from Mr. CAMPBELL THOMPSON's note-books(1), were copied by him in the church, the houses and the caves of Wadi Sarga. The stelae present the usual problem: are they true grave-stones, or merely commemorative tablets(2)? Their texts would sometimes be appropriate to either purpose, *e. g.* where date of death is recorded. Mr. CAMPBELL THOMPSON however found them in various chambers on the hillside, quite apart from the cemetery; hence they cannot be regarded as grave stones.

The present arrangement places the stelae first, the frescoed graffiti afterwards. The two initial invocatory phrases,

(1) Such texts are notoriously difficult to copy and my interpretation of the copies is often far from satisfactory.

(2) Cf. QUIBELL, *Saqqara* (1912), p. 8. W. DE BOCK, *Matériaux*, p. 78, found stelae built into a church wall. In general no note appears to have been kept by excavators as to the positions in which such stelae were found; and subsequent cataloguers have had therefore to leave this point untouched.

found in both groups, where the beginnings of the texts are preserved, are: "Father, Son and Holy Ghost . ." and "Good God, . . .". Upon the stelae from the monastery of Saqqara the first of these formula is very common, while the latter is rarely found (1); it is never employed at Wadi Sarga. After the stelae have been classed those of the graffiti which similarly invoke saints and commemorate names — the living, it would seem, where no date of death is given. The length of the text depends upon the number of the names invoked: first the Trinity, angels, biblical patriarchs, prophets and saints, the apostles and martyrs; then the three "great men", Apollo, Anoup and Phib(2), who had become throughout Middle Egypt the principal figures of monastic tradition(3); and finally the series of local worthies treated of in our Introduction. The presence and absence of these groups, their combination and sequence vary, as do those of the elements in each group, according to the predilections of dedicators and the accuracy of sculptors. Among the saints and martyrs invoked it is rarely possible to identify any but the most conspicuous. Presumably the rest are local heroes, unknown to the Calendar, in its extant forms at least.

Following these venerated names, on both stelae and graffiti, are those of the departed, on whose behalf the holy men have been petitioned. Often the date of death is given (though usually the month only), so that the name which is that of the deceased is not in doubt(4). But often other names, without dates(5), follow this and we are left to speculate who

(1) *E. g.* nos. 102, 206, 283, 339 c.

(2) May we call them Horus, Anubis and Thoth? They are invoked by visitors to the Oases: Bock, *Matériaux*, p. 38.

(3) Pachom and Shenoute, with their respective successors, appear never to have attained (or? retained) a popularity comparable with this. The former is invoked, Hall p. 132, the latter, Alexandria Mus. no. 203. Or it may be that excavation has yet to bring to light the epitaphs from sites where these great abbots were in special veneration.

(4) In 25<sup>2</sup> there are 2 deceased, both with their dates. In *Saqqara* there are often several, *e. g.* nos. 27, 30, 222, 247.

(5) Occasionally with dates: *Miss. franç.* III, p. 30, no. 50.



these may be. A stele, as 36 for instance, shows that children (or? disciples), while yet alive, added their names to the paternal epitaph (1); or it may be that such names are those of friends or relatives who died subsequently (*e. g.* in 30). Or again, as in 35, 44, 45, 46, the text ends with a name probably that of their common dedicator. The graffiti are, as elsewhere, not epitaphs, but simply invocations, more or less informal: sometimes enclosed in a rough frame, sometimes irregularly scribbled on the plaster, now by one suppliant only (48), now by several (51, 55, 56, 59). It will be seen below that, besides stelae and graffiti, there are instances of inscriptions, both epitaphs (61, 63, 64) and invocations (54, 62), written upon ostraca (2), which may have served as preliminary drafts for the guidance of the stone cutter. They have therefore been inserted in the present section.

## 29.

+ ΠΙΩΤ ΜΠΩΗΡΕ Μ  
 ΠΠΠΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΒ ΠΕΝ  
 ΙΩΤ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΠΕΝΙ  
 ΩΤ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ ΤΕΜΑΥ Μ  
 5 ΑΡΙΑ ΠΕΝΙ(Ο)ΤΕ Π-ΚΕ  
 ΟC ΠΕΝΙ(Ο)ΤΕ ΝΑΠΟC  
 ΤΑΛΟC ΠΕΝΙΟΤΕ Π  
 ΟC ΡΩΜΕ ΑΠΑ ΑΝΟΥΠ  
 ΠΟC ΠΕΝΙΩΤ ΑΠΑ Θ  
 10 ΩΜΑC ΜΠΠΕCΠ  
 ΗΥ ΦΑΓΙΟC ΑΠΑ ΠΑΗ  
 CΕ ΑΡΙ ΠΜΕΥΕΥ[.] ΠΑΝ  
 ΟΥΠ ΠΚΑCΕ ΠΕ[ ] ΜΠ  
 ΠΗ ΑΒΕΜΠΤΟΠ ΜΟ  
 15 Π ΠCΟΥΜΠΤΑCΤΕ  
 ΜΠΑΡΜΟΥΤΕ ΖΗΠ  
 ΟΥΙΡΗΝΕ ΝΤΕ ΠΠ  
 ΟΥΤ[Ε] ΖΑΜΗΠ ΘΟ

(1) Or a father adds his after that of his dead son: *Christ. Vostok* I, 48.

(2) Cf. CRUM, *Ostr.* 491, 492.

12. Copy ]CΑΠ, leg. ΠΜΕΥΕ ΠΑΠΟΥΠ.

13. Leg.? ΠΡ[Ε]Μ.

14. Leg. ΕΜΤΟΠ ΜΜΟΥ.

"The Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost; Michael, our father Gabriel, our mother <sup>5</sup> Mary; our righteous fathers, our fathers the Apostles; our fathers the great men (1), Apa Anoup the great; our father Apa <sup>10</sup> Thomas and his brethren; the holy Apa Paêse (2), have mind of Anoup, the tanner (3), of . . . . He went to rest on the 14th day of Parmoute, in the peace of God. Amen, amen."

## 30.

Now in the British Museum (not numbered, 1921).

+ ΠΙΩΤ ΜΠΩΗΡΕ  
ΜΠΠΠ̄Α ΕΤΟΥΛΛΒ Π  
ΕΠΙΩΤ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ Π  
ΕΠΙΩΤ ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ ΤΕ  
5 ΜΑΥ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΠΕΠΙΟΥ  
Ε ΜΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ Π  
ΠΠ[Ο]ΤΕ ΠΤΙΚΕΟΣ Π  
ΕΠ[Ι]ΟΤΕ ΠΑΠΟΥΠ  
Ο[Σ] ΦΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΣΟΠ  
10 Σ[ΠΑ]Υ ΠΕΠΙΩΤ ΑΠΑ  
[ΘΩ]ΜΑΣ ΜΠΠΕΥΕΠ  
ΠΥ [Α]ΡΙ ΠΜΕΥΕ Μ(Π)ΑΣ  
ΟΠ [.]ΙΣΟΟΠ ΠΡΗΜΠ

(1) Apollo and Anoup, distinguished here and in 48, 66, 73 from namesakes by the epithet ΠΙΟΕ (also *Saqqara*, 1907-8, p. 6 and no. 101, (cf. the more usual Ο, as in *Pahomo*), with Πhib occasionally added, are the monastic worthies most often invoked here, as at Bawit, *Saqqara*, Abydos (*Cemeteries of Ab.* III, 38) and as far S. as Denderah (graffiti copied by N. DE G. DAVIES). In HALL, p. 145 (17) Apollo is termed "our great (ΠΙΟΕ) father".

(2) The epithet ἄγιος indicates a recognized saint. The martyr of 8th Kihak was from Abusir, near Ashmunain, so perhaps venerated as far S. as W. Sarga.

(3) In a list of trades (Brit. Mus. Or. 8903) σκατεύς; apparently corresponds to ΚΕΕΕ, which I take as dialectal for ΚΑΕΕ. The latter not hitherto explained.

ΤΗ[ΝΕ] ΠΤΟΥΣΙΑ ΛΧΕΜΤ  
 15 [ΟΝ Μ]ΜΟΥ ΠΣΟΥΧΟΥΤΕ  
 [ΜΠ]ΑΡΜΟΥΤΕ ΜΠΑΠΑ  
 ΙΩΑΝΗΣ Π[Ρ]ΗΜΤΟΥΣ  
 Ω ΜΠΕΣΟΥΟ ΠΟΥ[ΕΙ]ΡΗ  
 ΝΕ ΣΑΜΗΝ 4Θ

"The Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost; our father Michael, our father Gabriel, our <sup>15</sup> mother Mary; our fathers the Prophets, our righteous fathers (1), our fathers the Apostles; the holy Apa Sons[na]u(2); <sup>10</sup> our father Apa Thomas and his brethren(3), have mind of my brother [ ]on of the farm dyke(?) (4). He went <sup>15</sup> to rest on the 15th day of Parmouti. And Apa John of Touhō mpeswo(5), in peace. Amen, amen."

## 31.

ΝΑ]ΠΟΣΤΟ  
 ΛΟΣ ΜΜΑΡΤΗΡΟΣ  
 ΑΠΑ ΠΑΥΛΕ ∶ ΑΠΑ ΛΩΤΣ  
 ΝΕΝΕΙΟΤΕ ΝΗΟΣ ΠΡΩΜΕ  
 5 ΑΠΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩ ∶ ΑΠΑ ΑΠ  
 ΟΥΠ ∶ ΑΠΑ ΦΙΒ ∶ ΑΠΑ  
 ΘΩΜΑΣ ∶ ΑΠΑ ΠΕΤΡΕ ∶ ΑΠΑ  
 ΙΩΣΗΦ ∶ ΑΠΑ ΑΝΟΥΠ ∶  
 ΝΕΤΟΥΛΛΑΒ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΑΡΙ  
 10 ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΠΑΠΑ ΒΑΡΘΟ  
 ΛΟΜΑΙΟΣ ΠΡΜΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ

(1) Perhaps reminiscent of a biblical phrase, *e. g.* Mat. XIII, 17, though in 29 the prophets are absent.

(2) A saint Sansnau is invoked at Deir el-Gebrawi (II, pl. XXIX, no. 3). Perhaps the same (? his church) at Arsinoe (*Mit. Rain.* II, 261, 263). Cf. fem. Tsansnō, LEIPOLDT, *Schenute* 142 (not Sansnō). A single saint thus inserted in 29, 48.

(3) The local worthies, so often enumerated, are thus referred to in 29, 60.

(4) Probably a particular locality so named. Cf. 172.

(5) Recurs in 35 and KRALL XCVIII. Cf. *Ryl.* 369 n.

ΠΤΑΧΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΟϢ ΝϢΟΥΜΝΤ  
 ΖΑΩϢΕ ΝΤΘΟΟΥΤ ΖΝΝΟΥΕ  
 ΡΗΗΗ ΖΑΜΗ[Η]

6. In copy 1 is like a perpendicular λ.

11. Copy ΑΤΤΙΝΟΥ.

"... , the Apostles, the Martyrs, Apa Paul, Apa Lôts(1); our fathers the great men, |5| Apa Apollo, Apa Anoup, Apa Phib; Apa Thomas, Apa Peter, Apa Joseph, Apa Anoup; all the saints, have |10| mind of Apa Bartholomew of Antinoe(2). He went to rest on the 17th day of Thowt, in peace. Amen.'

### 32.

Now in British Museum (no. 1919, 5-5, 10).

ΙϢ ΝΕΧΡϢΤΕ  
 ΠΪΩΤ ΠΩΗΡΕ ΠΕΠΗ  
 ΕΟΥΜΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΒ· ΑΠΑ  
 ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΑΠΑ ΓΑΒΡΙΥ  
 5 [Λ] ΠΕΝΙΩΤ ΑΤΑΜ  
 [ΤΕΝ]ΜΑΛΥ ΜΑΡΙ  
 Α ΑΠΑ ΠΑΜΟΥΗ  
 ΑΠΑ ΖΑΛΟ ΝΕΤΟΥ  
 ΑΒ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΑΡΙ ΠΗ  
 10 ΕΟΥΕ ΜΠΑΣΟΝ  
 [Κ]Ω[ΣΤΑ]ΝΤΙΝΕ ΝΤΑ

"Jesus Christ. The Father, the Son, the Holy Ghost. Apa Michael, Apa Gabriel; |5| our father Adam, [our] mother Mary; Apa Pamoun (3), Apa Hello(4); all the saints; have |10| mind of my brother Constantine, who [went to rest . . . ]"

(1) Are these two martyrs? If so, the former may be Paul of Tamma (v. *Miss. franç.* IV, 515, 759). The latter name recurs in *ST.* 431, MURRAY, *Osireion*, pl. XXXVII and DAVIES, *Sheikh Said*, p. 35.

(2) Not quite certain.

(3) Cf. 66 n.

(4) Met with only in an Abydos stele (PEET, *Cemet. Abydos* III, 38).



## 33.

Facsimile in F. PETRIE's *Gizeh and Rifeh*, pl. XL.

+ ΠΩΤ ΠΩΗ  
 ΡΕ ΠΕΠΝΑ Ε  
 ΤΟΥΛ[Α]Β ΠΕΗ  
 ΕΙΩΤ [Α]ΔΑΜ Μ  
 5 [ΠΝΕΨΩΗΡ]Ε ΤΗ  
 [ΡΟΥ ΑΡΙ] ΠΜΕ  
 [ΕΥΕ ΜΠ]ΑΘΗ  
 ]ΠΡΜΤ[  
 ]ΑΨΜ[ΤΟΗ]

„The Father, the Son, the Holy Ghost; our father Adam  
 [and [5. his] children a[ll, have] min[d of ]my brother [ ]  
 of T[ ]. He went to rest [on the ”

## 34.

ΤΕ]ΜΑΥ ΜΑΡΙΑ  
 ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ  
 ΑΔΑΜ ΑΡΙ ΠΜ  
 [ΕΕΥ]Ε ΝΑΠΑ

“ . . . , our] mother Mary, our father Adam, have mind  
 of Apa [ ”

## 35.

Facsimile in F. PETRIE's *Memphis*, pl. LIV.

Φ ΠΠΟΥΤΕ ΠΑΓΑΘΟΣ  
 ΑΠΑ ΘΩΜΑΣ ΑΠΑ ΠΕ  
 ΤΡΕ ΑΠΑ ΙΩΣΗΦ ΑΠΑ  
 ΑΝΟΥΠ ΑΠΑ ΠΑΜΟΥ  
 5 Π ΠΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΤΗΡΟΥ  
 ΑΡΙ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ ΜΠΠΑ  
 ΠΑ ΒΙΚΤΩΡ ΠΡΜΤΟΥ  
 ΖΩ ΝΕΣΟΥΟ ΑΨΜΤΟΗ  
 ΜΜΟΨ ΝΣΟΥΒΤΟΟΥ

10 ΜΠΑΡΜΩΤΠ ΖΝΟΥ  
ΕΙΡΗΗ ΖΑΜΗΗ ΠΠ  
ΑΠΑ ΒΙΚΤΩΡ ΠΡΜΗ  
ΖΑΘΕ ΖΑΜΗΗ ΙΓ ΠΑΔΙΚ/ 4Θ

"Good God; Apa Thomas, Apa Peter, Apa Joseph, Apa Anoup, Apa Pamoun, |5| all the saints, have mind of the *papa* Victor, of Touhô neswo (1). He went to rest on the 4th day |10| of Parmhotp, in peace. Amen. The *papa* Victor of Hage. Amen. 13th Indiction. Amen."

## 36.

Facsimile in F. PETRIE's *Gizeh and Rifeh*, pl. XL.

✠ ΠΠΟΥΤΕ ΠΑΓΑΘΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΘΩ  
ΜΑΣ ΑΠΑ ΠΕΤΡΕ ΑΠΑ ΙΩΣΗΦ  
ΑΠΑ ΑΝΟΥΠ ΑΠΑ ΠΑΜΟΥΠ ΑΠ  
Α ΓΕΡΜΑΝ<sup>sic</sup> ΑΠΑ ΙΟΥΣΤΕ ΠΕΤ  
5 ΟΥΔΑΒ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΑΡΙ ΠΜΕΕΥΕ Π  
ΑΠΑ ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑΣ ΠΡΜΣΙΠ ΑΧΜΤΟ  
Π ΜΜΟΒ ΠΣΟΥΜΝΗ ΠΧΟΙΑΣΚ  
ΜΠΑΠΑ ΙΩΖΑΝΗΣ ΠΕΒΩΗΡΕ  
ΑΧΜ[ΤΟΠ]

blank

10 ΖΠΟΥΙΡΗΗ ΠΤΕ ΠΠΟΥ  
ΤΕ ΖΑΜΗΗ ΠΩΛ42 4Θ

"Good God; Apa Thomas, Apa Peter, Apa Joseph, Apa Anoup, Apa Pamoun, Apa Germanus, Apa Justus; all the |5| saints, have mind of Apa Jeremias of Sip(2). He went to rest on the 15th day of Choiahk; and Apa John, his son. He went [to rest (*blank*)](3) |10| in the peace of God. Amen . . . .(4), amen."

(1) Cf. 30.

(2) The Sip in Hyvernat, *Actes* 74 is probably, not certainly, a place name. It lay in "southern Egypt", south at any rate of the Delta.

(3) Presumably engraved during John's lifetime.

(4) Unintelligible letters: probably a cryptogram (: *leg.* ΠΜΑΗ2 = ΖΑΜΗΗ).

## 37.

Facsimile in F. PETRIE'S *Gizeh and Rifeh*, pl. XXXIX.

ϣ ΠΠΟΥΤΕ  
 ΠΑΓΛΘΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΘΩ  
 ΜΑΣ ΑΠΑ ΠΕΤΡΕ ΑΠΑ ΙΩ  
 ΣΗΦ ΑΠΑ ΑΠΟΥΠ ΑΠΑ ΠΑΜ  
 5 ΟΥΠ ΑΡΙ ΠΜΕΣΥΕ ΜΠΑΣΟΠ  
 ΒΙΚΤΩΡ ΠΡΜΤΚΑ2 ΤΙΠ ΑΠ  
 Α ΒΙΚΤΩΡ ΑΥΜΤΟΠ ΜΜΟ4 Π  
 ΣΟΥΣΑΥΕ ΠΕΜΩΡ ΕΠ  
 ΟΥΕΙΡΗΠΗ ΣΑΜΗΠ ΠΠΑ  
 10 ΠΑ ΒΙΚΤΩΡ ΚΟΥΙ 4Θ  
 ΑΝΤΡΕΑΣ 4Θ

"Good God; Apa Thomas, Apa Peter, Apa Joseph, Apa Anoup, Apa Pamoun) [5] have mind of my brother Victor of the district of Tin.(1) Αpa Victor went to rest on the 7th day of Emshir, in peace. Amen. The *papa* 10 Victor the less (2). Amen. Andrew. Amen."

## 38.

Facsimile in F. PETRIE'S *Gizeh and Rifeh*, pl. XL.

ϣ ΠΠΟΥΤΕ  
 ΠΑΓΛΘΟΣ Α  
 ΡΙ ΠΜΕΥΕ ΠΤ  
 ΑΣΩΠΕ ΛΕ  
 5 ΠΕ ΤΡΜΠ2  
 ΛΘΕ ΑΣΜΤ

(1) In describing this stele (*Gizeh and Rifeh* 43), I read *χάτρων*, despite preceding fem. *Τ*. Both 2 and 1 are doubtful, but more probable than C and P. The prefix *ΤΚΑ2-* occurs as *ΤΚΑ2ΩΜΠ* (*Mus. Guim.* XVII, 132 n., *Kopt. Rechtsurk.* no. 99), *ΤΚΑ2ΚΩΟΥ* (BM. 1121, P. Lond. IV, 1603). Tin-Thinis occurs in *Recueil* VI, 70, Rossi, *Nuovo Cod.* 3.

(2) Presumably the Victor of 42 and 2 fragments now in Br. Mus. In these "V. the less" is either dedicator or sculptor. (Who, then, is Andrew in the present text?). "V. of Hage", in 35, 44, 45, 46 and two other Br. Mus. fragments, holds a like place in the inscription; are the two distinct?

ON MOC NC  
 OYMHTCACW  
 BE MPAPM  
 10 OYTE ZHOYI  
 PH • ZAMHII

“Good God; have mind of my sister(1) Lene, of Hage. She went to rest on the 17th day of Parmoute, in peace (= εἰρήνη). Amen.”

## 39.

Now in the British Museum.

[P] ΠHOYTE ΠAΓA  
 ΘOC AΠA ΘΩMAC  
 AΠA ΠETPE AΠA I  
 ΩCHΦ AΠA ANOYH  
 5 AΠA ΠAMOYH APH  
 ΠMECYE MΠAΠ  
 A ΦOIBAMΩH Π

“Good God; Apa Thomas, Apa Peter, Apa Joseph, Apa Anoup, [5] Apa Pamoun, have mind of the *papa* Phoebammon, the [ ”

## 40.

Now in the British Museum.

] . ΠE  
 ΠHOYTE ΠAΓA  
 ΘOC AΠA ΘΩM  
 AC AΠA ΠETPE A  
 5 [Π]A IΩCHΦ AΠA A  
 [ΠO]YH AΠA ΠAM  
 [OYH

(1) Presumably this means “sister”, *i. e.* nun, as ΠACOH means “brother” or monk. Cf. 65. The name is probably for Helene and recurs thus in GRUM, ST. 138, and in full in KRALL CCXLVIII.



Invocation identical with ll. 1—5 of the preceding text. What l. 1 contained it is hard to say, the opening formula being complete without it: possibly [ic] ne[xc], as in 32.

## 41.

+ πνουτε  
 παλαθωc  
 απα θωμαc απα  
 πετρε απα ιουcηφ  
 5 απα ανουπ απα πα  
 μουν αρι π(μ)εεγε παππ  
 ουτε

## 2. Copy ακαθωc.

"Good God; Apa Thomas, Apa Peter, Apa Joseph, 5 Apa Anoup, Apa Pamoun, have mind of Papnoute."

## 42.

Facsimile in F PETRIE'S *Gizeh and Rifeh*, pl. XL.

απ]  
 α παμο[υν αρι πμε]  
 εγε μπασον [γεω]  
 ρκε πρμπμμπ  
 5 μ2πnc λcμτον μμ  
 οc πcουχογ[τ]cπο  
 ουc πχοιακ 2νογει  
 ρπππ 2μμπ ππαπ  
 α βικτωρ κογι 4ο

## 4. Last letter ?ρ.

## 5. First letter ?π.

"... Ap]a Pamo[un, have mind] of my brother [Geo]rge of Pmamp. 15] of Hnēs(1). He went to rest on the 22d day of Choiahk, in peace. Amen. The *papa* Victor the less. (2) Amēn."

(1) Possibly πμμμ a mistake; merely πρμ2πnc, "man of Hnēs", intended. Yet many place-names in Middle Egypt began with Pma n- (now Man- or Am-).

(2) Cf. 37.

## 43.

]ΑΜ[. ] ΠΡΜΗ2Α  
 [66 Λ4]ΕΜΤΟΗ ΜΟ4 ΠΣΟΥ4ΤΟ  
 [ΟΥ] ΜΠΑΡΜΟΥΤΕ ΜΠΟΚΣΙ  
 ]. Ε ΨΕΕΡΕ ΕΜΤΟΗ ΜΟΣ  
 5 [ΠΣΟ]ΥΜΗΤ ΜΠΑΡΜΟΤΠ  
 ] ΠΑΥΔΕ ΚΟΥΙ ΠΡΜΗ2Α  
 [66 2Π]ΟΥΕΙΡΗΠΗ 2ΑΜΗΠ

1. Or? ΠΡΜ.

End of an epitaph, commemorating a man from Hage, a woman (3—5) and Paul, also from Hage. The readings are mostly very uncertain.

## 44.

Now in the British Museum.

ΜΠ]ΔΡΜ  
 [2ΑΤ 2ΠΟΥΕΙ]ΡΗΠΗ 2  
 ΑΜΗΠ ΠΑΠΑ ΒΙΚΤ  
 ΩΡ ΠΡΜΗ2Α66 2ΑΜΗΠ

Bottom of an epitaph. "... in ] peace. Amen. *Papa* (1) Victor of Hage. Amen." Below this, two blank lines ruled.

## 45.

Now in the British Museum.

]2 ΕΛ[  
 2]ΠΟΥΕΙΡΗΠ[Π  
 ΒΙΚΤ]ΩΡ ΠΡΜΗ2Α[66

Bottom of an epitaph, naming Victor of Hage. Cf. the preceding and two following, which all name perhaps the same Victor, who may be the dedicator of these stelae.

(1) Probably ΠΠΑΠΑ should be read, as in 37 etc.

## 46.

Now in the British Museum.

HC]OYMH[T                      M]ΠΛΟΠΕ [ΣΗΟΥΕΙΡ]ΗΠΗ [ΣΑΜΗΗ ΠΠΑΠ]Λ  
ΒΙΚΤ[ΩΡ ΠΡΗΗΣ]ΛΔΕ ΘΘ

Bottom of an epitaph, naming the *papa* Victor of Hage.

## 47.

+ ΠΕΙΩΤ ΜΗΠ[ΩΗΡΕ ΜΠΠΕ] ΠΗΑ ΕΤΟΥ  
ΛΑΒ ΠΕΠΩΤ ΜΙΧΑΝΑ ΠΕΠΙ[Ω]Τ ΓΑΒ[Ρ]  
ΗΝΑ ΤΕΝΜΑΥ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΠΕΙΟΤΕ ΜΠΑΤΡΙΑ  
ΡΧΗΣ [Η]ΕΙΟΤΕ ΜΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ [Η]ΕΙΟΤΕ ΠΑ[Η]  
5 ΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΒΙΚΤΩΡ ΑΠΑ ΦΟΙΒΑΜΜΩ[Η]  
Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ Μ[Η]ΝΑ Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ  
ΑΠΑ ΚΟ[ΑΛΟΥΘ]ΟΣ Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΠΕΩΛ Ο ΑΓΙΟ[Σ]  
] ΑΠΑ ΠΑΥΛΕ ΜΗ[Α]ΠΑ[  
]ΙΟΣ ΖΕΙ . . ΟΙΣΜ  
]Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ

7. Perhaps ]OC ends a line and o ληOC begins another.

“The Father and the [Son and the] Holy Ghost; our father Michael, our father Gabriel, our mother Mary; the (1) fathers the Patriarchs, the fathers the Prophets, the fathers the [5] Apostles; Apa Victor, Apa Phoebammôn (2); the holy George, the holy Mēna, the holy Apa Ko[llouth]us, the holy Apa Pǧôl (3), the holy [                      ], Apa Paul and Apa[ ”

(1) So the text. Perhaps to be emended to "our fathers".

(2) Presumably the martyrs, though one would expect ὁ ἄγιος to precede, as in the cases following. The first 4 recur thus in *Mél. d'Arch.* II, 175.

(3) Cf. CRUM, *Theol. Texts*, p. 75 n. This saint perhaps invoked, *Ann. du Serv.* VIII, 83.

## 48.

Compare with this no. 51.

ΠΩΤ (Π)ΩΗΡΕ ΠΕΠΠΕΟΥΜΑ ΕΤΟΥΛΒ ΠΕΠΩΤ ΑΤΑΜ ΤΕΜΑΥ ΣΟΗ  
 ΠΕΠ(Ι)ΩΤ Π...ΑΝΑ ΤΕΜΑΛΟΥ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΠΕΠΩΤ ΜΑΡΚΩΣ [Π]ΑΣΟΗ  
 ΑΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ ΑΠΑ ΑΝΟΥΠ ΝΟΘ ΑΠΑ ΑΠΟΥΛΩ ΝΟΘ ΠΕΠ(Ι)ΩΤ ΠΕΤΡΩΣ  
 ΑΠΑ ΠΟΥΠ  
 ΑΠΑ ΤΩΜΑΣ ΑΠΑ ΠΕΤΡΕ ΑΠΑ ΙΩΣΗΦ ΠΑΜΟΥΠ ΠΑΠΩΣΤΩΛΩΣ  
 ΑΠΑ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΕ ΑΠΑ [...] ΑΠΑ ΜΑΚΑΡΕ ΑΠΑ ΜΩΙΣΗΣ  
 ΑΠΑ ΠΙΒΑΜΩΠ ΠΕΠΩΤ ΠΑΟΥΛΩΣ  
 ΑΡΙ ΠΑΜΕΥΟΥΕΙ ΠΩΚ  
 ΠΑΛΛΑΚΙΣΤΩΣ ΠΕΤΡΩΣ ΠΤΕΠΠΟΥΤΕ ΕΠ ΤΑΗ ΕΒΩΑ ΕΠΑΟΥΣ

1. In copy ΣΟΗ ends L. 2 and could be read ΣΟΗ.

2. Leg. ? ΜΙΧΑΝΑ; at end nothing lost?

7. Leg. ? Α for Ι (ΑΠΟΚ).

8. Leg. ΤΑΣΑΗ, ΕΠΑΗΟΥΣ.

"The Father, the Son, the Holy Ghost; our father Adam, our mother Zôe, our father M[ich]ael (?), our mother Mary, our father Mark(1); my brother Apa Enoch; Apa Anoup the great(2), Apa Apollo the great, our father Peter (3); Apa Anoup, Apa Thomas, Apa Peter, Apa Joseph, (Apa) Pamoun; the Apostles(4); [s] Apa Germanus, Apa [ ], Apa Macarius, Apa Moses, Apa Phoebammôn(5), our father Paul(6), have mind of me, the most humble Peter, that God may bring my life to a good end(7)."

(1) Doubtless the evangelist.

(2) On this epithet v. 29.

(3) Of doubtful identity: either the apostle, as probably in 52, or a native saint, perhaps the martyred patriarch, or "Peter the great (or the elder)", venerated further south (*Synax. FORGET* I, 299, 348, 449).

(4) This interrupts the series of abbots, which is already unusual in placing Anoup first — perhaps an erroneous repetition.

(5) This form Pib(Pamoun comes very near to that habitual in later times. Bifamoun.

(6) Cf. 31. A Paul is invoked in many epitaphs: *Ann. du Serv.* VIII. 177, *Cemet. of Abydos* III, 38, *TURABEF, Mater.* no. 54.

(7) As in *Baouit* I, pp. 25, 44, *Recueil* XIII 65, XX, 174.



## 49.

+ [π]ΩΤ ΜΠΩΗΡ[Ε] ΜΠΕΠ(Η)Α ΕΤΟΥ[ΑΑΒ] Π[ ]Ρ[ ]  
 ΕΤΟ[ΥΑΑΒ] ΠΑΡΕΤΗ ΜΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΤΕΝΑΡΝ[  
 ΤΕΠ]ΑΑΥ ΜΑ[Ρ]ΙΑ ΠΕΠΝ[ ]Α[ ]Μ[ ]

"[The] Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, the  
 holy [ ], the virtues of the Holy Ghost(1), the ... [ ],  
 our] mother Mary, our [ ]"

## 50.

Ρ ΠΩΤ Π  
 ΩΗΡΕ ΠΕΠΝΕ[Υ]  
 ΜΕ ΕΤΟΥΑΒ  
 ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΓΑΒ  
 5 ΡΗΛ ΠΕΠΩΤ  
 ΑΠΑ ΘΩΜΑΣ  
 ΑΠΑ ΠΕΤΡΕ  
 ΑΠΑ ΙΩΣΗΦ ΑΠΑ  
 ΑΝΟΥΠ ΑΠΑ ΠΑ  
 10 ΜΟΥΠ ΠΕΙΩΤ  
 ΡΜΒΟΥ ΕΤΟΥΑΒ ΑΡΕ  
 ΠΕΜΕΕΥΟΥ ΖΑΜΗΠ

"The Father, the Son, the Holy Ghost; Michael, Gabriel;  
 our father Apa Thomas, Apa Peter, Apa Joseph, Apa Anoup,  
 Apa Pamoun, father . . . . ., have mind of us (?). Amen." Six  
 more illegible lines.

## 51.

Compare with this no. 48.

[+ Π]ΩΤ [ΜΠΩΗΡΕ Μ]ΠΕΠΝΑ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ [ ]  
 ΤΕΠ]ΑΑΥ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΠΗ[ ]  
 ]ΠΕΙΟΤΕ ΠΑΠ[ΟC  
 [ΤΟΛΟC ]ΤΩΙ[ Α]ΠΑ ΣΟΗ[CΝΑΥ  
 5 ]Α. ΠΠ. Ω ΑΛ[ ]

(1) As in *Sagqara* no. 203 (cf. THOMPSON'S note).

φαί[το]ς ἀπα κ[ολλο]υ[θ]ος ἀπ[α]. π. ἀρ. πα[τρ] [ ] ἀπα  
 παπ[π]ο[υ]τε[ ] μι[α]πα ἀνο[υ]π ἀπα φοίβ[α]μ[ων] ἀπα  
 αἰ[ον] [ ] οὐρ πρ[ι]ν[ ] η[ ] ος π[ρ]ω[μ]ε[ ] πε[ ]  
 ἀπα] ἀπολλω ἀπα ἀνο[υ]π ἀπα φ[ι]β[ ] αμ[ ]  
 10 [ ] η[ ] ἀπα [φοί]β[α]μ[ων] π[α]ρ[ ] γ[ ] ρ[ ] ος ἀπα  
 οω[μ]ας ἀπα πετρε ἀπα ἰω[ ] σ[ ] φ[ ] ἀπα ἀνο[υ]π ἀπα πα[μ]ο[υ]π  
 ἀπα γε[ ] ρ[ ] μ[ ] α[ ] η[ ] ἀπα ἰο[ ] υ[ ] στε ἀπα ἐν[ ] ω[ ] χ[ ] πε[ ] ν[ ] ε[ ] ω[ ] τ  
 [ ] η[ ] μ[ ] πε[ ] ν[ ] ε[ ] ω[ ] τ[ ] c[ ] [ ] ος π[ρ]ο πα[ ] ι[ ] κ[ ] α[ ] ι[ ] ος ἀρ[ ]  
 [ ] τ[ ] η[ ] ρ[ ] ο[ ] [ ] π[ ] α[ ] ρ[ ] ος πα[ ] σ[ ] ο[ ] η[ ] πα[ ] ι[ ] α[ ] κ[ ] α[ ] ω[ ] η[ ] π[ ] . . . [ ]  
 15 [ ] τ[ ] ω[ ] τ[ ] [ ] πα[ ] σ[ ] ο[ ] η[ ] γε[ ] ω[ ] [ ] ρ[ ] [ ] ε[ ] κο[ ] γ[ ] ι[ ] [ ] βο[ ]  
 πα[ ] σ[ ] ο[ ] η[ ] ἀπ[ ] ο[ ] λ[ ] ω[ ] [ ] [ ] α[ ] η[ ] [ ]  
 [ ] φοί[ ]  
 β[ ] α[ ] μ[ ] μ[ ] ω[ ] η[ ] πα[ ] σ[ ] ο[ ] η[ ] η[ ] σ[ ] α[ ] ι[ ] α[ ] ρ[ ] πα[ ] σ[ ] ο[ ] η[ ] πετ[ ] ρ[ ] ε[ ] πα[ ] σ[ ] ο[ ] η[ ] [ ]  
 μ[ ] η[ ] πα[ ] κο[ ] γ[ ] ι[ ] [ ] ζ[ ] μ[ ] ο[ ] ο[ ] υ[ ] π[ ] η[ ] [ ] π[ ] [ ] . . . [ ] α[ ] η[ ] [ ] βο[ ] υ[ ] [ ]  
 20 ζ[ ] α[ ] μ[ ] η[ ] η[ ] c[ ] [ ] . η[ ] τ[ ] [ ] τ[ ] ρ[ ] α[ ] ρ[ ] α[ ] η[ ] α[ ] [ ] [ ] η[ ] - [ ] η[ ] ο[ ] ι[ ] α[ ] η[ ] [ ]

5. ? ἀπολλω.

8. ? οὐ[ ] η[ ] οὐρ πε[ ] ν[ ] ε[ ] ι[ ] ο[ ] τε η[ ] η[ ] ος.

9. Or φοίβ[α]μ[ων], but unlikely; cf. l. 10.

20. c[ ] ? = q[ ] θ.

["The Fath]er [and the Son etc.; our] mother Mary,  
 [ ] fathers the Ap[ostles], [ ] A[ ] pa Son[saw(1),  
 5 [ ] Apollo(?)[ ] , the holy [Apa K]ollouthus(2), Apa  
 [ ] , Apa Pap[noute] and Apa Anoup, Apa Phoebamm[ôn],  
 Apa . . . . . , [Apa Wen]ofer; our [fathers the] great men, our  
 [father Apa] Apollo, Apa Anoup, Apa Phib(3), [ 10 ], Apa  
 [Phoe]bammôn the martyr; Apa Thomas, Apa Peter, Apa  
 Joseph, Apa Anoup, Apa Pa[moun(4), [ ] , Apa Germanus,  
 Apa Justus, Apa Enoch(5), our father [ ] , our father

(1) V. 30.

(2) V. 47.

(3) One might here read Pnoebammon as an error for Phib; if not, the next name looks like a woman's, preceded by **αμα**. Cf. 54.

(4) In the series of "great men" none seems missing to fill this gap. Cf. especially 36.

(5) Difficult to say whether this is the biblical Enoch (v. 66), or another abbot added to the usual series. The Enoch so frequently met with in our ostraca was at a time steward, perhaps eventually abbot.

§[ ]us, the righteous king(1), have [mind of(2)  
 the] master(?) my brother the deacon [ 15 ], my  
 brother George the less, [ ], my brother Ap[ol]lo,  
 [ Phoe]bamm[ôn, my brother] Esaias,  
 my brother Peter, my brother [ ] Mēna the less [ ]  
 [ 20 ] Amen, am[en (?) ] I know  
 not [ ] "

## 52.

Some 17 lines, whereof but little is legible. In l. 5 "our father Moses(3) and our father Adam"; in 8 ff. "our father Peter(4), our father John (ΕΙΩΣΛΗΝC) the Baptist, our father John the Virgin (ΠΑΡΘΕΝOC), our fathers the Apostles, our fathers the Martyrs." The names following included Phoebammôn and Philotheus.

## 53.

+ ΠΩΤ ΠΩ  
 ΗΡΕ ΠΕΠΛΑ Ε  
 ΤΟΥΛΛΕ ΑΠΑ  
 ΘΩΜΑΣ Α  
 [ΠΑ

"The Father, the Son, the Holy Ghost; Apa Thomas,  
 A[pa ] "

## 54.

An ostrakon (5).

+ ΠΩΤ Π[ΩΗΡΕ]  
 ΠΕΠΛΑ ΕΤΟΥΛΛΕ. [ ]  
 ΠΕΤΡΟΣ : ΠCΛΩΓ ΠΩΕ[ ΜΑΡ]

(1) Biblical or Byzantine (c. g. Constantine)? In *Saggara* 203 and Rossi I, III, 60 "the righteous kings" invoked are clearly those of the Old Testament (cf. Eccli. XLIX, 4).

(2) From here an unusual number of those commemorated, ending with the scribe's excuses for his shortcomings.

(3) Biblical.

(4) The Apostle.

(5) Cf. 61 etc.





"Good God, have mind of the master Elias(1) and Peter and Mark and Hôr and Apollo and Papnoute, Phib, Victor and Anoup, Phoebammôn and 5 John, Paul and Hale and Hôr, all the saints that have done the will of God(2), from our father Adam until this day, have mind of [ ] and the *papa* Phoebammôn, 10 [ ] and] Apa Akoui of Iom(3), Anoup the baker and [the] *papa* Wenofer of Iom, Sourous, Peter(?), Phib, Apollo."

## 56.

ΠΑΣΟΙ ΒΙΚΤΩΡ ΜΗΙΩΣΑΠΠΗC  
 ΜΗΦΟΙΒΑΜΜΩΝ ΜΗΩΡ ΜΗΑΠΟ  
 ΛΛΩ ΜΗΑΠΟΥΠ ΜΗΩΡ ΜΗΠΑΥΛC  
 ΜΗΩΛΕ ΠΑΣΟΙ ΑΝΟΥΠ ΠΑ  
 5 ΜΡΕ ΠΠ[ΑΠΑ] ΟΥΕΠΟΥΡ ΜΗ ]ΑΡΤΑΣ  
 ΠΡΜΙΟΜ ΠΠΟΥΤΕ Π ΤΕΥΣΑΗ [ΕΒΟΛ] ΕΠΑ  
 ΠΟΥ[C  
 IC XC ΠΙΚΑ

"My brother Victor(4) and John and Phoebammôn and Hôr and Apollo and Anoup and Hôr and Paul and Hale(5), my brother Anoup the 15 baker, the *p[apa]* Wenofer and [Zach]arias(?), men of Iom(6). God, bring their life to a good end." Below, 'Ι(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς Νικᾷ.

(1) But for the first three names, the list is that of 56, though in different sequence.

(2) As in *Mél. d'Arch.* II, 175, *Saqqara* 203.

(3) V. 56.

(4) It will be seen that these names are found already in 55, though the sequence is different. Who are they? The names of the "great men", Apollo, Anoup and Phib, are indeed among them; but not grouped together. Victor, John and Phoebammôn might be the martyrs, though here "my brother" seems to forbid this. To which of them does "men of Iom" refer and to how many of them the closing prayer?

(5) Recurs BM. 1036, 1096 and (2ΛΛΗ) in a Balaiza fragt. It can scarcely be (as I suggested) for Muslim Ali, in a Christian text such as this one. Possibly, but improbably, the same as 2ΑΡΕ, Ryl. 143. Cf. ΤΕΡΩΤ 2ΛΛΕ, a place, Ryl. 196n.

(6) Recurs thus in our ostraca and in *D. el Gebrawi* II, pl. XXIX (3), *Baouit* II, 111 (but *ib.* 142 ΠΙΟΜ), ZOEGA 240. On a stele seen at a Cairo

## 57.

Now in the British Museum.

[ΑΡΙ Π]ΜΕΕΥ[Ε Μ  
 ΜΝΑΠΑ ΠΑΥ[ΛΕ Μ]  
 ΠΖΩΡ ΑΥΜΤ[ΟΠ ΜΜΟϢ ΠΣΟΥΧ]  
 ΟΥΤΣΗΟΟΥ[Σ Π ΖΗ]  
 5 ΟΥΕΙΡΗΠΗ [ΖΑΜΗΠ]

Paul and Hôr are, among others, commemorated here(1), but the 3d. sing. "he died" makes (l. 3) the real intention of the stele doubtful (2).

## 58.

ΑΠΑ (Α)ΠΟΛΛΩ ΑΠΑ ΑΠΟΥΠ  
 ΑΠΑ ΘΩΜ[ΑΣ

"Apa (A)pollo, Apa Anoup; Apa Thomas [".

## 59.

ΑΠΑ ΘΩΜΑΣ  
 ΑΠΑ ΠΕΤΡΕ  
 ΑΠΑ ΙΩΣΗΦ  
 ΑΠΑ ΑΝΟΥΠ  
 5 ΑΠΑ ΠΑΜΟΥΠ  
 ΑΡΙ ΠΜΕΟΥΕ [Μ]  
 ΠΑΣΟΠ ΑΠΑ ΠΟΘ  
 ΜΗΠ[ΑΣ]ΟΠ ΦΟΙΒΑΝΩΠ  
 ΜΗΠΑΣΟΠ ΕΠΩΧ ΠΚΩΤ

dealer's ΠΜΗΟΜ. Is it the Fayyûm? In Fayyûmic documents it is not so written, the present form being found only around or S. of Ashmunain. "Man of Fayyûm" is rare with ΠΜ- (HYVERNAT, *Actes* 100, cf. Ryl. 277). A curious man's name twice at Saqqara is Paiom. But I can recall no parallel which would explain this as the possessive + place-name.

(1) Cf. 55. 56.

(2) One might of course read ΠΑΣΟ]Π ΖΩΡ "my brother Hôr", who would thus be the deceased.

7. Copy πωε.

8. Copy φιοβ.

9. Leg.? πεκωτ.

"Apa Thomas, Apa Peter, Apa Joseph, Apa Anoup,  
5 Apa Pamoun, have mind of my brother Apa Nog and my  
brother Phoebammôn and my brother Enoch the builder(?)."

60.

+ πποϋτε παλα  
οc απα θωμαc  
μνεcσιν[γ] παc  
ce πα[cοπ λ]πολλω  
5 πρμψ[ ]ω...  
μnpα[cοπ] ιωc  
αν(η)c πρμπαcε  
.+ ρθ zλμην

"Good God, Apa Thomas and his brethren, Paese(?). My  
[brother A]pollo |s of Ps[ ] and my [brother] John of  
Haġe. Amen, amen."

61.

An ostrakon.

[+ πποϋ]τε παλα  
ο[οc αρι π]μνεϋc  
π[απα πα]ηce πρμ  
πβ. [... λγ]μτοπ  
5 μμο[γ πco]γχοϋ  
ωτ μ[παωω]πc  
zποϋει[ρημην]  
z[λμην]

Draft for or copy of an epitaph.

"Good God; [have] mind of [Apa Pa]êse of Pbê[shn?(1). He]  
went |s| to rest [on] the 20th day of [Pashô]ns, in pe[ace.] A[men.]"

(1) Cf. 63. But the 3d letter is not like an η.

## 62.

An ostrakon.

ⲡ ⲡⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ ⲡⲁ  
 ⲕⲁⲑⲟⲥ ⲁⲣⲓ ⲡⲉⲉϥ (sic)  
 ⲉ ⲙⲡⲁⲥⲟⲛ ⲥⲓⲣⲉ  
 ⲕⲟϥⲓ ⲛⲁⲙⲛⲓ

Similar to the preceding epitaphs, but without date.

"Good God, have mind of my brother Sire (1) the less.  
 Amen."

## 63.

ⲡⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲕⲁⲑⲟⲥ  
 ⲁⲣⲓ ⲡⲙⲉⲉϥⲉ ⲡⲁⲡⲁ ⲡⲁ  
 ⲧⲉⲣⲙⲟϥⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲙⲡⲃⲛⲁ  
 ⲁϥⲙⲓⲧⲟⲛ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ⲡⲥⲟϥ  
 5 ⲛⲟϥⲱⲧ ⲙⲡⲁⲣⲙⲟϥ  
 ⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲙⲛⲓ

Copy of an epitaph, or a prayer, like the preceding.

"Good God, have mind of Apa Patermoute, of Pbêshen (2).  
 He went to rest on the 20th of Parmoute. Amen."

## 64.

An ostrakon.

ⲡⲁ]ⲕⲁⲑⲟⲥ ⲁⲣⲓ ⲡⲣ. ⲡⲉ  
 ⲡ]ⲧⲁϥⲉⲣ ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ  
 ⲡ]ⲁⲙⲟϥⲛ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲧⲉⲣϥⲱⲱ[  
 ]ⲡⲥⲟϥⲙⲓⲧⲁϥⲧⲉ[  
 5 ]ⲥⲓⲙⲟⲑⲉ ⲡⲧⲁⲃ[  
 ⲙ]ⲡⲁϩⲟ[ⲡⲥ

(1) A name familiar in Middle Egypt, PEET, *Cemet. Abydos* III, 39, P. Lond. IV, no. 1538 (cf. there the Greek form Σῆρος). Sometimes with Apa: KRALL, CCLII, Ryl. 227. Possibly a derivate of Osiris (*ôsire*, *ousire* in Coptic, *Berichte* Leipzig. Akad., 26. Juli 1902, pp. 140, 141). The name *Sirius* (? *Suris*) at Esneh (*Synax.* ed. FORGET I, 333) is hardly the same.

(2) Recurs here 81 and NEWBERRY, *Beni Hasan* II, 67. Now El-Feshn.

## Copy. of an epitaph.

"Good [God], remember(1) [those?] that have become blessed(2), [namely] Pamoun of Terfshô[(3) who went to rest] on the 14th [of ] Simothe(4), who [went to rest on the ] of Pashons(?)["

## 65.

Now in the British Museum.

[ΑΠΑ ΦΟΙΒ]Α  
ΜΟΝ ΑΡΙ Π  
ΜΕΕΥΕ ΝΤ  
ΑΣΩΠΗ Σ[Ε]  
5 ΦΑΝΕ ΕΑΣΜ  
[ΤΟΝ ΜΜΟC

"... Apa Phoeb]amon(5), have mind of my sister Stephane(6), who [went to rest..."

## 66.

ΑΠΑ Σ[ ] ΡΕ., ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ ΜΩΥCΗC ΑΠΑ ΕΠΩΧ ΠΕ-  
ΓΡΑ[ΜΜΑ]ΤΕΥC, ΑΠΑ ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑC, ΑΠΑ ΠΑΠΟZΕ, ΑΠΑ  
ΑΠΟΛ(Α)Ω ΠΟC, ΑΠΑ ΑΠΟΥΠ, ΑΠΑ ΠΩΛΙ ΠΙΕΡ, ΑΠΑ ΠΑ-  
ΜΟΥΠ ΠΡΜ[

(1) Looks like ΠΡΕCΒΕΥΕ; but could that be used here?

(2) I. e. died; cf. μακκήτης; γενέσθαι. A Coptic instance, ZOECA 284, 34.

(3) Probably includes the word now written Turfah (AMÉLINEAU *Géogr.* 492, Abū Sālih f. 74 b; cf. also *Patr. Or.* V, 782). The δ here is doubtful.

(4) This name (a saint invoked) at Abydos (PEET, *Cemet. Ab.* III 39) and Bawit (Cairo Catal. 8781).

(5) Unlikely with Ο, but this saint is constantly invoked and no other reading suggests itself.

(6) ? An error for Stephanou(s). For "my sister" cf. 38.



"Apa S[ ] . re., our father Moses (1), Apa Enoch the Scribe (2), Apa Jeremias, Apa Papohe (3), Apa Apollo the great, Apa Anoup, Apa Pshai of Jer(emias) (4), Apa Pamoun of (5) ["

## 67.

ΠΠΟΥΤΕ ΡΟΙΣ  
ΕΠΕΝΜΑ ΝΕΡ ΖΩΒ  
ΑΡΙ ΠΜΕΕΥΣ  
ΑΝΟΥ ΠΕΣΗΟΥ Π  
5 ΠΑΙΤΟΠΟΣ [2Δ] ΜΗΠ

4. Quite uncertain.

5. Copy ΠΑΠ . . ΤΟΣ.

"God watch over our workshop (6). Have mind of us, the brethren (?) of this τόπος. Amen."

## 68.

[+ ]C ΧΣ ΡΟΙΣ ΕΠΑΣΟΗ  
ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑΣ [ΚΟ]ΥΙ ΠΨΑΠ

The rest illegible.

"Jesus Christ, watch over my brother Jeremias the less, the dealer in [ . "

(1) Cf. 52.

(2) On the biblical Enoch thus invoked on stelae v. THOMPSON in QUBELL's *Saqqara* 1912, 48 and references; also GRIM, *Theolog. Texts*, no. 3.

(3) Presumably Apollo's disciple (*Ag. Z.* XL, 61), though placed before him.

(4) *L. c.*

(5) Cf. 32. Not the local worthy, so often among Thomas's successors. P. of Hnès is invoked *Saqqara* no. 266; another in *D. el Gebrawi* II, pl. XXIX and a saint so named in *Mél. d'Arch.* II, 175, *Baouit* II (1916), 44, *Saqq.* nos. 176, 240. Cf. also the martyr, BM. 344, whose companion's name, Sarmata, is often among those invoked at the Jeremias monastery (cf. ? the reference to "Vandals" there in *Itin. Theodos.*, KRALL LXXXVI).

(6) Perhaps in the sense of ἐργασία "way of life, occupation" (often in *Aporphth. Patr.*, v. HOFNER in Vienna *Denkschr.* 62, II, p. 33), rather than ἐργαστήριον.

## 69.

IC̄ ROIC  
 CAΠOΛΛΩ  
 ΠP̄N̄N̄AM  
 CΩC̄ AM̄N̄

"Jesus, watch over Apollo, of Mameshe (1). Amen."

## 70.

+ IC̄ XC̄ ROIC̄ EΠACON̄ IŌ[

"Jesus Christ, watch over my brother Jo[hn? Joseph?]"

## 71.

IC̄ ΘΩMAC̄ KOYI  
 M̄N̄IΦANOC̄  
 ΠEBCON̄ Z̄AM̄N̄

2. Copy πεν.

"Jesus. Thomas the less and Phanos (?) (2), his brother. Amen."

## 72.

IC̄ XC̄ IEPH̄MIAC̄  
 M̄N̄IAPOLLΩ ΠC̄C̄  
 CON̄ Z̄AM̄[H]  
 H̄ C̄C̄EΩ  
 5 ΩΠĒ

2. Copy πη.

"Jesus Christ. Jeremias and Apollo his brother. Amen. So be it."

(1) Reading doubtful. Unidentified.

(2) For? Stephanus, among the modern Copts "Fanous".

## 73.

Among rough drawings of 3 sailing boats.

+ Ἰ̅ς ὁ ἁγῖος Ἀπα  
 Ἀνοῦπ ἡ ὁς  
 Ροῖς φπ . . ὁ  
 5 C ΚΟ(Υ)Ι ΠΗΗϞ ὁ

"Jesus, the holy Apa Anoup the great(1), watch over Ph . . . us the less, the sailor(2)."

Beside one ship, Ἀπα Θωμᾶς "Apa Thomas."

## 74.

+ ψλς γελιας  
 Πλακζος + ΜΗ  
 Ενωχ Κοῦι  
 ΠΕΒΣΒΟΥΙ

"The master Elias, the mason, and Enoch the less, his apprentice."

## 75.

ΠΑΜΟΥΤΕ ΠΛΑΓΣΩΣ

„Pamoute the mason"(3).

## 76.

(a) ψλς Ἀμῶνε Πεκῶτ

"The master Ammonius, the builder."

(b) ΠΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ψλς Ἀπα Ἀνοῦπ Πεκῶτ  
 Cορυ το ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ

"The blessed (= deceased) master Apa Anoup, the builder."

(1) Cf. 29.

(2) The ὁ after ΠΗϞ, if indeed it is to be so read, should = "great", and mean ναύκληρος, or the like.

(3) Another graffito has ΠΑΜΟΥΤΕ, a name found in a Shenoute text, Paris 131<sup>7</sup>, 46 (= Ms. of BM. 175 etc.). The 2d word is λαζός.

(c) ΜΠΤΟΟΥ ΜΠΕΣΠΟΖΕ

"Of the hill of Pesǵpohe(1)."

77.

ΠΑCΩN

ΠΑHCE

ΠPMΤΑΠN

ΑΤΟΥ

3. Copy or ΤΑΝΑΙ.

"My brother Paêse of Tannatou(2)."

78.

ΠΑCΩN M

ΑΚΑΡΕ ΠPM

ΤΑΛΒΙ[

"My brother Macarius of Talbi[(3)."

79.

+ ΠΑΠΑ ΠΑ

ΤΗΡ ΚΟΥΙ

ΚΘΨ[

"Papa Patêr, the less."

L. 3 repeats the name in cryptogram.

80.

+ ΠΑΥΛΕ

ΚΑCCE

"Paul, (the) tanner(?) (4)."

(1) Pshǵe-pohe, in the story of Paul of Tamma (*Miss. franç.* IV, 763), apparently N. of Siût. Cf. the probable situation of Pohe (Bouha), opposite Manfalût. In a Denderah graffito (copy N. de G. DAVIES) is invoked Moses of ΠΕΩCΕΡΩΕ (leg.? ΠΕΩCΕΠΟΖΕ), with John of Abôt (Abydos).

(2) Unidentified.

(3) Reading doubtful. Unidentified.

(4) Cf. 29.

81.

ΑΠΟΛΛΩ ΠΒΗΩΗ

"Apollo (of) Pbêshn(1)."

82.

| ΜΑΚΑΡΙΕ ΠΕΘΩΩ

"] Macarius the Ethiopian."

83.

ΠΕΚΕΠΕΠΩΤ

ΑΠΑ ΠΑΥΛΕ [ ]·Τ

ΠΟΛΕΤΙΑ Η . . . ΕΗΠΤ

ΠΕΤΖΟΟΕ

About 12 more lines whereof only a few letters visible.

"Our other father (2) Apa Paul [ ] the religious  
life (πολιτεία) . . ."

84.

ΠΕΠΩΤ

ΑΠΑ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΕ

Cf. next number.

"Our father Apa Germanus."

85.

An ostracon.

Π]ΣΑΓΙΟC

Α]ΠΑ ΓΕΡΜ

ϸ]Θ

Cf. the Germanus invoked in 48, where he seems to be separated (though perhaps accidentally) from the local group, Thomas etc. No such saint occurs in the Coptic calendar.

(1) V. 63.

(2) This peculiar use of ΚΕ- seems to show that "our father" could be regarded, when a title, as a single word, just as ΠΑCΩΗ "my brother" was. Cf. 174 n.



## Letters.

86.

P ἸΩΣΑΠΠΗC ΠΕΤC2ΔΙ  
 ΠΘΕΥΠΛ ΠΑΠΟΙ2 ΧC  
 CΠΜΑ ΠΠ2ΩB ΜΠΕ  
 ΩΠΕ CΠΛΥ ΕΥΠΤΟΟΤ4  
 5 ΠΠΠΑΠΛ ΓCΩΡΓΕ  
 -| ΜΗΤΕ ΠΜΑΛΧC  
 ΠCΟΥΟ ΠΛ4 ΖΑΡΟΟΥ  
 ΠΠΡCΩ ΟΥΠ ΠΑΤ  
 ΤΑΛΥ ΟΥΧΑΙ ΠΠ[

“John it is writes to Theōna, of Poih(1), (saying,) As regards the matter of the 2 nets that are in the hands 5 of the *papa* (2) George, give him 10 *maaje* of corn for them. Do not, then, delay giving them. Farewell in the [Lord].”

87.

+ ΔΑΠΠΗΛ ΠΠΠΛ ΜΠ[ΠΟΥΓΕ]  
 ΠΑΡΜΑΠ Π4[C2]ΔΙ ΠΑΠ[Δ]  
 ἸΩΣΑΠΠΗC [Π]ΠΜΑ Π[.]  
 ΠΧΙΡ ΧΕΑΡΙ [Π]2Ω4 ΠΚ  
 5 ΜΕ2 CΠΓΕ Π[ΛΛ]2Η ΠΧΙ[Ρ]  
 ΠΚΤΙ ΤΙΟΥ Π[Ζ]ΕCΤ/ ΠΧΙ[Ρ]  
 CΤΑΛ2Η [ΤΟΥ]Δ ΕCΤΠ  
 ΜΗΤ Π[ΖΕCΤ/

(1) Scarcely the half-legible place following the name of Theōna in 109. One is tempted to read Π2ΟΙ, as in BM. 1130, 11.

(2) This title, ubiquitous in Middle Egypt, the Fayyūm and Nitria, unknown in the south, appears to be borne by the various orders of clerics (a deacon, *Sagqara* no. 319, priests BM. 1130). That it is not merely ΑΠΛ + Π is shown by such cases as BM. 1235; yet in *ib.* 529 it may be this. Note too that in *Sagqara* no. 295, Hōr is invoked as ΠΛΠΛ, but in 26, 36, 76 as ΑΠΛ. Cf. notes on BM. 544, 1130. In 93 here the title alone shows its use as? = priest. In W. HENGSTENBERG'S *Kopt. Papyri* (Munich, J. Rosenthal, 1914), no. 2, the same man is called ΠΛΠΛ and (l. 4) πρε(σβύτερος). In P. Lond. II, 417, p. 299 the word = priest of a village.

"Daniel(1), by the mercy of God, archimandrite, writes to Apa John of the pickle store(?) (2) (saying), Be so good and (5) fill 2 *lahé*(3) with pickle and give 5 *xestes* of pickle to the *lahé*, that is(4) 10 *xestes* . . ."

## 88.

Ϙ ΕΡ ΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΠΓ† ΒΤΟ Π  
 ΒΟΟΥΠΕ ΠΜΧΩΑ ΠΠΑ  
 ΠΑ ΙΩΣΑΠΗΣ ΦΕΒΕΤΩΡΕ  
 ΠΕ ΠΑΪ ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ ΠΤΑΚ  
 5 ΧΟΟΣ ΧΕΝΑΙΒΩΚ Ε  
 ΒΟΛ ΠΑΤΟΥΠΡΗΩ Λ  
 ΧΟΟΣ ΕΡΟΚ ΧΕΩΔΡΕ  
 ΠΕΣΠΗΥ ΖΟΒΕΣΚ Ρ  
 ΠΟΥΤΑΔΥ ΠΑΒ ΤΑΑΣ  
 10 ΠΠΑΣΟΠ ΠΒΩΛ ΖΙΤΗ  
 ΕΝΩΧ ΠΟΙΚΟΝΟ  
 ΜΟΣ Ρ

„Be so kind and give 4 sacks of onions to *papa* John; for he is the . . . . . (5). As you <sub>s</sub> said, I will not go forth without a cloak(6), say to yourself, The brethren will cover you. (So) now give them to him. Give it to <sub>10</sub> my brother Pēōl, from Enoch the steward.”

(1) Cf. 161.

(2) Possibly Π was the last letter in 3 (if so, ΠΟΥΤΕ in 1 was abbreviated). Otherwise one might read Π†, though this should be Π† ΧΙΡ ΕΒΟΛ.

(3) On this measure v. General Introduction, *Metrology*.

(4) This Greek phrase recurs in BM. 1113.

(5) ΖΕΒΕΤΩΡΕ recalls ΖΕΜΕΤΟΡΕ, ΖΜΗΤΩΡΕ Rossi, *Pap.* II, 1, 7 and 33. But this remains to be explained and to be distinguished from (or identified with) ΖΜΗΤΩΡΗ Crum, *ST.* 294, 311, or ΖΜΗΤΩΡ, *ib.* 331.

(6) Might be read ΠΑΤΟΥΠΡΗ ΩΛ “ere the sun rise”, were not ΟΥ- a difficulty and did not the next phrase suggest the present version, ungrammatical though it be (ΛΧΟΟΣ should be ΛΧΙC).

## 89.

+

+ ΕΝΩΧ ΠΥΣΣΑΙ ΜΠΑ  
 CON ΣΤΕΦΑΝΕ ΠΟΙΚ/ ΧΕ  
 ΕΙΣ ΠΑΣΟΝ ΕΝΩΧ ΛΥΕΙ ΕΞΡ  
 ΑΙ ΠΑΚ ΜΑΡΕΥΤΙ  
 5 ΩΜΟΤΕ ΜΜΑΛΧΕ  
 ΝΑΡΩΙΝ ΝΑΥ ΜΠ  
 ΟΙΠΕ ΣΝΤΕ ΝΒΝΝΕ  
 ΜΠΟΥΦΟΡΟΣ ΠΗΡΠ  
 [ΛΣ] ΕΩ[ΩΠ]Ε ΜΠ  
 10 ]Υ ΕΤΒΕ

From Enoch to Stephen, who recurs in 188, 376 and probably 184.

"Enoch it is writes to my brother Stephen, the steward, (saying), Lo, my brother Enoch is come down (? up) to you. Let him be given [5] 3 *maaje* of lentils and 2 *oipe*(1) of dates and a *phoros* of [old?] wine(2). If [ . . "

## 90.

+ ΑΡΙ ΤΑΓΑΠΗ . ΝΓΤΙ  
 ΣΝΤΕ ΜΦΟΡΟΣ ΜΠ  
 ΜΠΤΣΝΟΟΥΣ ΝΛΑΚΟΝ  
 ΝΕΡΠ ΛΣ ΝΠΑΠΑ  
 5 ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ ΛΥΩ  
 ΑΝΑΥ ΕΠΩΩΤ  
 ΝΕΠΕΝΠΕ ΜΠ-  
 ΤΣΝΤΕ ΝΑΣΦΑ . .  
 ΜΠΛΛΛΕΞΟΙΡ  
 10 ΝΝΑΥ

The text is continued apparently on 91, which was part of the same pot.

(1) Cf. BELL in P. Lond. V, p. 158 ff.

(2) Cf. 90 etc.

"Be so kind and give 2 *phoros* and 13 *lakon* of old wine(1) to *papa* 5 Andrew. And sec to the iron keys and the 2 . . . (2) of Plalehoire (3) . . . [

## 91.

+ ΛΥΩ ΜΟΥ? ΤΕΥ  
 ΕΛΛΙΤΕ ΠΗΕ? ΠΑΥ  
 ΜΠΠΟΥ?ΟΤΕ ΠΕΡ  
 Π ΑΣ ΤΑΑΣ ΠΑΠΑ  
 5 2ΩΡ 2ΓΗΠΑΣΟΗ  
 ΠΑΠΠΟΥ?ΤΕ

This is the conclusion, it seems, of the text on 90, though written on the left of it.

"And fill their *kolathe* (?) (4) with oil for them and their *hots* with old wine. Give it to Apa Hôr(5), from my brother Papnoute."

## 92.

ΤΑΑΣ ΠΠ  
 [ΑΠΠ]ΟΥ?ΤΕ 2Ι  
 ΤΠΠΕΠΩΤ  
 ΧΕΥ ΦΟΡΗΣ ΕΠΤΕ ΠΠ  
 5 ΕΡΠ ΠΑΙ ΜΠΣΟ ΠΣΟΥΠΕ  
 ΠΣΑΕΕ ΜΠΠΛΑΚΟΠ ΠΠ  
 Ε2 ΜΠΜΗΤ ΠΒΗΡ ΠΩΥΤΕ  
 ΜΕΛ2 ΛΥΩ ΜΕ2 ΠΑΡΩ? ΠΠΕ  
 ΡΠ ΠΠΑΙΩΤ ΛΥΩ ΧΟΥ?ΣΟΥ ΠΑΙ  
 10 ΠΠΠΑΥ ΛΥΩ ΧΕΥ ΟΥ?ΦΟΡΗΣ ΠΤΑ  
 ΡΠΧΕ ΠΑΠ ΜΠΟΥ?ΦΟΡΗΣ ΠΣΕΜΧ ΠΣ

(1) Opposed to ΜΠΣ *mustum*, γλεῦκος in KRALL CCXXXIV, Ryl. 158. Cf. also CO. 235.

(2) Ατφαλές could scarcely be treated as feminine.

(3) V. 139. ΠΠΠΑΥ presumably for ΠΑΥ; cf. 91.

(4) Κόλλυθον is sometimes a measure of liquids (BM. 1120, ? 1041). but our word scarcely looks like a form of it.

(5) Also addressed in other letters.

ΥΡΟΥΓΩΠ ΛΥΩ ΧΕΥ ΩΜΟΜΤ ΠΞΕC  
 ΤΗC ΠΧΪΡ ΠΑΜΟΚΡΕ ΠΑΠ ΛΥΩ  
 ΧΕΥ ΒΤΟ ΠΟΠΕ ΠCΟΥΟ ΠCΙΚΕ  
 15 ΠΑΠ ΕΒΟΛ

"Give it to Papnoute, from his father. Send me 2 *phoros* of <sup>5</sup> wine and 6 bags of loaves and the jar of oil and 10 baskets of salt- . . . . (1). And fill the . . . . (2) of wine for (3) my father and send them me <sup>10</sup> at once. And send us a *phoros* of salt-fish and a *phoros* of . . . . (3) vinegar. And send us 3 *xestes* of pickle of . . . . (4). And send us out 4 *oipe* of corn for grinding (5)."

## 93.

ΠC[  
 ΜΕΡΙΤ Π[  
 ΖΑΘΗ ΜΕΠ[  
 ΕΤΕΚΜΗΤΙΩ[Τ  
 5 ΤΗΘΟΥ ΩΜΟΥΠ [ΠΕΛΜΟΥΛ ΠΑΠ]  
 ΤΑΠΟΤΠΟΥ ΠCΙ[Ν ΑΡΙ]  
 ΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΠΓΓΕΥ Μ[  
 ΠΕΛΛΑCΕ ΠΑΠ ΛΥΩ Τ[ΠΕΥ ΟΥ]  
 CΟΠ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΠΑCΟΠ ΦΙ[  
 10 ΠCΟΥΕΡ ΖΑΤΟΥΩΠ ΖΗΠ . [  
 ΜΟΠ ΕΙC ΠΑCΟΠ ΠΑΠΠΟΥΓΕ Ω[Ω]  
 ΠΕ ΛΥΩ ΠΚΑΠΑΠΑ ΩΔΒ  
 ΕΡ ΟΥΚΟΥΙ ΠΕΚΟΤ ΜΕCΩC  
 ΟΠ ΩΑΤΩΟΥΠ ΠΕΚΑΚΑ ΕΒΟΛ  
 15 + ΛΥΩ ΒΙ ΠΡΟΥΩ ΠΩΟΜΗΤ  
 ΠΕΛΜΟΥΛ ΠΠΡΠ ΠΑΠ ΖΑΤΗ . .  
 CΠΑΠΟΥ ΕΡΩΑΠΠΕCΑΜΟΥ[Λ]

(1) Cf. 164, where this unknown word perhaps recurs.

(2) A measure? But the reading is uncertain. Perhaps 'TI "five", and not the article precedes it.

(3) Cf. 186.

(4) Looks like a foreign word; presumably indicates the kind of pickle.

(5) COKE might be read.



ΕΙ ΕΞΑΙ ΕΥΟΤΗ ΠΙΜ ΧΟΟΥΣΟ[Υ]

ΠΑΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΤΑΠΟΤ[ΠΟΥ]

20 ΝΕΙ ΕΞΑΙ +

ΟΥΧΑΙ ΣΠΙΧΟΕΙΣ

"... ] it is [ writes to his ] dear [ father . . . . ]. Before [ all things I . . . . ] your fathership [ . . . . ] 5 send 8 [ camels ], that we may (?) load them with fodder (?). [ Be so ] kind and send (?) (1) [ . . . . ] loaves to us and [ send ? ] out the (?) brother and my brother Phi [ . . . ], 10 that they may stay with us in [ . . . . ]. For lo, my brother Papnoute is sick (?), and the *papa* (2) too will pay (him) a little visit (?). And afterwards he (?) will raise . . . . (3)

15 And provide 3 good camels (4) for wine for us . . . . When the camels come up (?) down loaded with fodder, send them out (5) to us, that we may (?) load them (with the wine) for coming down (?) up. Farewell in the Lord."

## 94.

Ρ ΤΑΑΣ ΜΠΑΙΩΤ ΑΠΑ ΙΟΥΣΤΕ

ΖΙΤΗΝΕΣΗΝΥ ΜΠΟΖΕ

ΑΡΙ ΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΧΕΥ ΠΕΑΜΟΥΛ ΤΗ

ΡΟΥ ΠΑΝ ΠΕΣΕΚΕΣ ΠΠΕΙΒΗΤ

5 ΕΜΜΟΝ ΩΛΗΕΙ ΕΞΡΑΙ ΝΤΕΥΩΗ

ΜΠΩΛ

"Give it to my father, Apa Justus, from the brethren of Pohe (6). Be so kind, send us all the camels, that they

(1) ΤΕΥ? = ΤΠΕΥ. Cf. here ΤΑ(Ρ)Ν-, ΜΕ(ΠΠ)ΣΩΣ, ΕΞ(Ρ)ΑΙ, ΩΛ(Κ?)-.

(2) Cf. 86 n. Here? "the priest".

(3) Quite uncertain. Since ΠΕ- looks like 2d sing., one might read ΩΛ(Κ)ΤΩΟΥΗ. But ΣΚΑΚΑ may be a noun (? cf. ΩΚΕΑΚΕΑ BUDGE Misc. 6).

(4) Or "camel (loads)", as in 204 etc. Cf. Introduction, § Metrology.

(5) "Out", with verbs of sending, going, coming, generally indicates motion from the desert to the Nile valley.

(6) Recurs probably Ryl. 255. Pohe (n)nekam is a place in W. HENGSTENBERG, *Kopt. Papyri* (Munich, J. Rosenthal, 1914), no. 4. Cf. ? Bûhê, near Manfalût. On the northern side of Siût we find Peshgêpohe (ZOEGL 307, cf. 76 above). But

may clear out (1) these palm-branches. For we will come up (? down) on the night of the feast."

## 95.

+ ΧΙ ΠΕΒΕΛΧΕ ΝΕΜΑΝΘΑΜΟΥΛΑ  
 ΜΠΚΥΡΙΣ ΣΑΡΑΠΙΩΝ ΛΥΩ ΕΙΜΕ  
 ΧΕΕΥΟΥ ΝΑΚ ΤΑΑΣ ΠΠΑΣΟΝ  
 ΠΑΠΠΟΥΤΕ ΠΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ  
 5 ΖΙΤΠΕΝΩΧ ΠΕΧΕΙΩΤ +  
 ΛΥΩ ΟΥΑΖΟΥ ΕΠΜΑ  
 ΠΤΑΚΧΟΟΣ ΕΡΟΙ

"Take the potsherds of the camelherds to master Sarapion and learn what they are (worth) to you (2). Give it to my brother Papnoute the steward, from Enoch, his father. And leave them (3) in the place you told me of."

## 96.

Papyrus.

Π]ΕΥΣΑΙ ΜΠΕΥΜΕΡΙΤ ΝΣΟΝ ΑΠΑ ΒΙΚΤΩΡ ΠΑΡΧΙΜΑ[ΠΑΡΙΤΗΣ  
 ΜΠ]ΤΟΟΥ ΕΤΟΥΛΑΒ ΖΜΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΧΕΡΕΔΕ ΜΠΜΑ ΠΕΩΝΗ[Υ?  
 ]ΟΥ ΧΕ. Π Μ[. .]ΤΡΗΜΗΣΕΝ [  
 ΩΟ]ΜΤΕΙ ΝΟΣ ΠΛΑΖΥ ΝΑΚ[

*verso*

+ ΤΑΑΣ ΕΠΑΣΟΝ ΒΙΚΤΩΡ ΖΙΤΠ[

more likely here than these is Bûhê بوهة in the neighbourhood of Kâw (AMÉLINEAU, *Géogr.* 584). According to SPIEGELBERG Pohe is also one of the names of El-Hibeh, S. of Feshn (*Ag. Z.* LIII, 3).

(1) So far only known as Bohairic. This seems to be the absolute form.

(2) The ambiguity of prepositions makes the meaning of this sentence doubtful.

(3) The potsherds, which doubtless bore receipts. Perhaps some of the identical ostraca here edited, *e. g.* 205 ff.

"... writes to his dear brother Apa Victor, the archimandrite (?) of the Holy Mount (1). Hail in the Lord. As regards the nets ..... tremis ..... 3 (?) large *lahé* to you .. Give it to my brother Victor, from ..."

97.

+

P 2HCΔIAC ΠΕΒ

C2ΔI ΜΠΕΥCΟΠ

ΠΗΛΠΠΟΥΤΕ ΠΑΠΑ[

ΠΕΙΚΟΠΟΝΟC ΧΕ[

5 ΠΑΡΕΤΕΚΜΠ[ΤCΟΠ

ΠΙΘΑΜΟΥΑ[

ΠCΟΥΗΠΤΟΥ[

"Esaias it is writes to his pious brother Papnoute, the steward (2), (saying), Let your fraternity [ ] the camels [ ] their price [ .]"

98.

+

+ ΠΑΠΠΟΥΤΕ

ΠΟΙΚ/ [ΠΘ]

C2ΔI . ΠΕΠΩΧ

[ΧΕ]ΑΙΤΠΟΥ ΠΑΚ ΧΕ

5 ] ΠΠΩ ΠΑΙ ΜΠ[

]ΑΚΤΠΟΥ [..]

"Papnoute, the steward [it is] writes to Enoch, (saying), I sent to you, (saying), [Send?] the ass to me and [.....] you sent[ ]"

(1) Is this the Holy Rock of Thomas? The letter being found at W. Sarga makes this not improbable. But cf. Ryl. 139.

(2) Cf. 181.



great kindness and go in to the dwelling (1) [. . .] and go in to the ch[urch] and look in the window (niche) [which is] s on the north side of the place of congregation (2) [and send (?)] those 3 packets(?) of tow (3) to me and that net that hangs(?) on [. . . .]. And [be so kind] as to ask about the [” Other requests are made, the last [13] being for” 12 [? baskets] of loaves on loan.”

## 101.

+

+ ΤΕΟΥΠΟΥ ΕΤΚΝΑ

ΧΙ ΠΤΙΒΗΛΧΕ ΒΩΚ

ΕΞΟΥΝ ΕΠΜΑ ΝΩΩΠΕ

ΧΙ ΠΙΟΥΤΑ2 ΠΨΕΨΟΤΕ Μ[Π]

5 ΤΜΑΨΕ ΜΠΠΕΣΖΟΥΡ ΜΠΟΥ

ΚΕΛΚΟΛΕ ΠΚΑΠ' ΠΑΒΩ' ΠΤΕΠΑΠΑ

ΠΙΖΗΥ ΜΠΣΩ ΕΙΧ ΠΣΠΠΟΝ ΑΛΛ/

ΧΟΟΥΣΟΥ ΠΑΙ ΠΣΟΟΥΤΠ ΕΤΣΟΜΤΕ

ΑΛΛ/ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ ΧΟΟΥΣΟΥ ΠΑΙ ΜΠΨΕΠ

10 Ε ΠΤΕΧΡΙΑ ΠΨΑΡΕΠΑΣΟΝ ΑΠΟΛΛΩ ΧΟΟΣ

ΧΕΙΟΥΑΨC +

“As soon as you shall receive this potsherd, go in to the cell (*lit.* dwelling(4)), take the . . . . . (5) and 5 the balance and its ring and a ball of net cord, (belonging?) to *papa* Pihêw, and 6 “hands” of tow. (6) But send me them

(1) Cf. 101. Here it must comprise a group of monastic buildings, as it seems to do at Saqqara and Bawit.

(2) A part of the church? ΜΑ ΝΟΥΝΑΓΕ in Rossi, *Pap.* I, III, 52 may be “chapels”.

(3) Cf. BM. 1128.

(4) V. 100n.

(5) Both obscure words. With the second cf. Rossi *Pap.* II, III, 44 ΨΠΨΩΤΕ, BM. 1090 ΨΠΨΩΤΕ, the former perhaps “pillow, cushion”.

(6) That στύπιον is flax-tow is clear from Paris 129<sup>16</sup>, 11 (cf. ZOEGA 239n.): an Alexandrian trader buys all the ΣΠΠΟΝ from the fields which (the martyr) Paëse had sown with flax (ΜΑ2Ε). In Paris 44, 86b it is translated by *mishākah*. But it is also a material for clothing, e. g. *Mus. Guim.* XVII, 218.



forthwith, to the . . . . . But by all means send me them, with the remainder <sup>10</sup> of the things needful (1), whereof my brother Apollo says he wishes them."

## 102.

ΤΕΥ]ΩΗ ΤΗΡC ΕΜ  
 [ΠΟΥ                   ]ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜΠ  
                           ]ΤΠΥΛΗ ΕΜΠΟΥ  
                   CΩ ]ΖΙΧΩC ΑΥΩΡΩΩ  
 5 [Ρ ΤΑΙΤ]Ε ΘΕ ΠΤΑΠΤΟΥΧ  
   ΧΟΟΥ ΕΡΗC ΧΕΜΑΡΕΠ  
   ΟΥΑ ΠΟΥΛ̄ CΩ ΖΙΧΝΤΕC  
   ΠΥΛΗ ΑΥΩ ΧΟΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ Ν  
   ΤΕΝΠΕΛ ΠΩC ΜΠΕΙΧΟΪ  
 10 ΕΜΟΗ ΑΝ† ΤΕΝCΙΧ Π̄  
   ΚΟΥΪ CΟΗ ΧΕΝΤΝΕ[1]  
   ΜΠΟΟΥ ΕΝΕ† ΟΥΖΟ  
   ΛΟΚΟΤ/ ΤΛΑC Μ  
   ΠΑΙΩΤ ΑΠΑ ΙΩΥC  
 15 ΤΕ ΖΙΤΝΙΩΖΑΝ  
   ΠΕCΩΗΡΕ

"... ] all the night, they being [unable ? to] come forth from the [                   ] the gate (2) (and) unable [to remain?] there; and they were disquiet[ed. |5| And ]so the *dux* (3) sent them southward, (saying), Let each one remain at his gate. And send out, so that we may arrange (4) the matter of the ship; |10| for we have given our hand to the little brothers (5) that we would come today and pay a *solidus*. Give it to my father, Apa Justus, |15| from John, his son."

(1) Χρεῖα "property, belongings" similarly in *Miss.* IV, 729.

(2) Cf. ? a place to the north of Shmûn, ΤΠΥΛΗ ΠΖΟΒΗ, Ryl. 364 n. Perhaps merely one of the town gates.

(3) At Antinoë presumably.

(4) *Leg.* ΠΕΛC.

(5) For † CΙΧ "promise" v. BM. 1137, Ryl. 357. "Little brothers", as contrasted with the "great brothers", the monastic magnates, dignitaries who represent the community in two papyri from Balaiza.

## 103.

Ρ ΑΡΙ ΤΑΚΑΠΕ ΠΤΕΥ  
 ΠΟΥ ΚΑΧΧΙ ΤΕΪΒΑΧ  
 ΜΑΡΕΟΥ'Α ΖΗΠΕΣΗΥ  
 ΒΩΚ ΕΖΗΤ ΠΕΜΟΥ'ΤΗ  
 5 ΠΕΙΛΘΟΥΡΕ ΜΟΗ ΤΕΙ  
 ΧΡΪΑΤΕ: ΤΑΑΣ ΠΑ  
 ΠΑ ΦΟΙΒΑΜΩΗ  
 ΖΙΤΠΑΠΑ ΙΟΥ'ΤΕ  
 ΠΕΒΙΩΤ +

From Justus, probably the recipient of 94, 102, 113.

"Be so kind, so soon as you receive this sherd, let one of the brethren go northward and let him satisfy (1) 5 this . . . (2); for there is need (to do so). Give it to Apa Phoebammôn, from Apa Justus, his father."

## 104.

Ρ ΤΑΑΣ Η ΑΠΑ ΕΗΩΧ ΠΟΙ  
 ΧΟΠΟΜΟΣ ΖΙΤΠΑΣΟΗ  
 ΕΗΩΧ ΕΙΣ ΓΕΩΡ  
 ΓΕ ΠΙΣΕΒ ΜΠΑΙΒΕΡΗΟΣ  
 5 ΑΥΕΙ ΠΑΚ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΑΡΙ ΤΑ  
 Γ'ΑΠΗ ΒΩΚ ΕΠΜΑ ΠΠΣΑΗ  
 ΟΥΒΗΠΕ ΠΠΜΑΥ ΕΜΜΟΗ ΔΥ  
 ΧΟΟΣ ΧΕΒΕΠΟΥ'ΕΩ ΤΜΑΩΡΤ  
 ΜΠΠΑΣΕΒΑΗ ΜΠΠΚΟΥ'Ι ΜΑΩΡΤ

(1) Or "make terms with", v. KRALL CLVII; or "pay", v. Ryl. 343n.; or possibly "summon", ΜΟΥΤ(Ε), cf. ΒΛΧ(Ε).

(2) Title or name? If the former, cf. perhaps ΠΕΛΥΡΕ (LEMM, *Bibelfr.* I, 267), though this may be but a descriptive epithet (cf. ΘΟΥΡΕ CSCO. 73. 46. 47 and ΕΛΥΛΕ *ib.* 59). One may however equally read ΛΘΟΥΡ ΕΜΟΗ (as in 102, 106, 107 etc.) and see perhaps here a variant of ΖΑΘΟΡ, in its original meaning, "messenger" (v. SETHE in *Göttinger Nachr.* 1916, 118 ff.; also Ryl. 224 and BM. 1075, ΛΘΟΡ). The preceding demonstrative would make a name unlikely; but ΠΕΙ- ΤΕΙ- is really, the article, as so often in these texts.

10 ἡπῶουψ ἄγω † κεχοῦτε ἡ  
 αἰτρα ἡσιππε παῦ ρ  
 οὔχαῖ ἡπῶουε ρ

"Give it to Apa Enoch, the steward, from my brother Enoch. Lo, George, the sailor of the *libernus* (1) (ship) |<sub>5</sub>| is come up to you. Be so kind, go to the place of the palm-fibre dealers (2) with him; for they say, We want the cable (3) and the towing rope (4) and the small cable |<sub>10</sub>| of the . . . (5). And give them other 20 litres of tow. (6) Farewell in the Lord."

## 105.

+ απ[  
 σ2αῖ ἡλ[  
 πσλῡβνῖ[ε  
 τῡοοῦ σο ἡψο[  
 5 ἡσλμοῦλ παλ ἐπ.[  
 ἡσοοῦτῖ ἄγω ἐκψαν  
 ἐπτοῦ ἡκλμ τῡοοῦ  
 σοῦ εὔτηκ †

"Ap[a . . . . . it is] writes to [. . . . .], the palm-fibre worker, [(saying), be so kind,] send us 6 . . . [ <sub>5</sub> for (?) camels for [. . . . .] forthwith. And if you find as many (?) reeds, send them, in good condition."

(1) In Greek texts neuter, *λίβερνον* or fem., *λίβερνίς*; but here and in QUIBELL-THOMPSON, *Saqqara* no. 367, masc. The *liburnus* should be a war-ship; cf. GROSSE, *Röm. Militargesch.*, p. 77f.

(2) Cf. Ryl. 217 n. for this material (*σεβένιον*), whence monkish clothing etc. was made. Rope of it, Hyvernat, *Actes* 166, P. Lond. IV, p. 129 n.

(3) I. P. Lond. IV, p. VI. It further occurs, as anchor cable, in LAGARDE, *Catenae* 54, 100. Here both genders are given (readings certain). The other instances show none. Presumably it is masculine.

(4) Preserved by ZOEGA, 614. Survives in modern Egypt as *libân*.

(5) Looks like a Greek word: ? *κόβος*, ? *κοπίς*.

(6) Makers of palm-fibre rope perhaps made others of tow, *στίππιον*. Cf. 101.

## 106.

+ 2ΑΘΗ ΜΠ · 2ΩΒ ΝΙΜ  
 †ΩΙΝΕ ΕΡΟΚ · ΑΡΙ ΤΑ  
 ΓΑΠΕ ΧΟΟΥ 2ΗΚΟΥΪ  
 ΠΗΡΠ ΕΒΟΛ ΠΕΩΩC : ΕΜΟΝ  
 5 ΑΗ† ΤΚΟΥΪ 2ΟΤC CΕΝΤΕ ΠΑΥ  
 ΠΕΧΑΥ ΧΕΠΟΥΕΨΟΜΤΕ ΜΗΝΕ  
 ΑΜΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΚΠΙΘΕ ΜΟΥΥ : ΑΥΩ  
 ΧΙ ΜΑΧΕ CΕΝΤΕ ΝΒΕΝΕ ΠΑΥ  
 ΤΑC ΠΑΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ 2ΙΤΗΠΑ[ΠΑ]  
 10 ΙCΑΚ : ΠΡΩ ΠΑΤΕΙ Ε[ΒΟΛ]  
 ΧΕΠΕΥΟΥΩC

"Before all things I greet you. Be so kind, send a little  
 5 wine out to the shepherds. For we gave them the 2 small  
*hots* and they said, We want 3 a day. Come out and satisfy  
 them (1). And bring 2 *maje* of dates for them. Give it to Apa  
 Enoch, from *papa* (2) |10| Isaac. Do not delay to come [out],  
 for they have been idle (3)."

## 107.

Ρ ΑΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ ΠΕ4C2ΑΪ Μ  
 ΠΑCΟΗ ΚΩCΜΑ ΧΕΚΑ ΒΤΟ  
 ΠΡΑΪΡΕ CΑΒΟΛ 2ΕΠΟΥΜΑ  
 ΟΥΛΛΟΥ ΠΚΤΪ ΟΥΚΟΥΪ ΝΪΩΤ  
 5 ΠΑΥ ΠΤΕΠΕΥCΩΜΑ ΕΡ  
 ΨΑΥ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΠΟΥΚΟΥΪ ΕΜ  
 ΟΗ ΕΟΥΩΨ ΕΤΑΛΥ ΕΤΩΕ  
 ΛΕΕΤ ΜΠΑΚΑΡΧΟC  
 ΠΑΠΤΟC ΟΥΠ ΜΠΕΡΩ  
 10 ΠΑΤΕΡ ΦΩΒ

(1) Shepherds were considered troublesome people; criminals sometimes (BUDGE, *Apoc.* 106, *RP.* no. 54), or merely illbehaved (*Synax.* 16th Kihak in *PO.* III 470, *ROC.* 1912, 294, *P. Lond.* V 1682, MAKRIZI, *Monast.* no. 55, *Churches* no. 65). Pachomius, seeing them neglected, built them a church in the neighbouring desert (*Vita*, ASS., § 20). Cf. also *P. Cairo MASP.* 67002.

(2) Or "brother", ΠΑ[CON].

(3) Or "lest they be".

"Apa Enoch it is writes to my brother Cosma, (saying,) set 4 sucking-pigs(1) apart, in a place by themselves, and give them a little barley, [5] that their bodies may improve somewhat thereby. For it is desired to give them to the pagarch's bride. By all means, therefore, do not leave [10] the matter undone."

## 108.

+ ΑΠΑΠΝΟΥ  
 ΤΕ ΕΙ ΕΦΧΩ  
 ΜΜΟC ΕΡΟΪ  
 ΧΕΕΚΑΝΑΓΚ  
 5 ΑΖΕ ΝΠΚΟΥΤ  
 ΕΥC ΕΝΟΥ2Β  
 ΕΦΟΪ ΟΥΩΨ Ν  
 ΠΡΑΡΑΓΕ ΠΠΚΟΥ  
 ΤΕΥC ΨΑΝΤΟΥΩΛ  
 10 ΤCΩΨΕ ΧΕΚCΟ  
 ΟΥΝ ΧΕΠΚΑΙΡΟC Π  
 ΤCΩΨΕΠΕ ΠΛΙ

"Papnoute has come, telling me that you are compelling [5] the .....(2) to yoke (a beast to) the waterwheel(3). Please do not molest(?) (4) the ..... until they harvest [10] the field; for you know that this is the season for (harvesting) the field."

## 109.

+  
 Ρ -ΠΟΪ ΓΑΡ ΧΕ[....] ΠΤΕ ΤΗ2Ω  
 CΪΩ ΠΧΟΕΙC ΠΕΩΤ Π2Α2 ΝCΟΠ

(1) ΠΑΑΡ in Ryl. 158, 159 is an element promised by husbandmen in their rent in kind. It recurs *ib.* 391. Fem. ΠΑΑΡΕ appears thrice among gifts of farm produce in KRALL CCXLII; also obscurely in BM. 1111. This probably is our word. Its meaning is now assured by WESSELY, *Stud.* XX 218, 29, where χοιράδα holds exactly the place of this in the identical formula.

(2) Recurs *Rev. ég.* IV, 9 ΚΟΥΤΗΥC, and as ΚΟΥΔΕΟC in BM. 1130. Meaning uncertain. For? χοιρεύς or σκυτεύς.

(3) This phrase occurs in Ryl. 340. Cf. perhaps ΒΩΚ ΠΩ ΕΦΟΙ, CO. 229.

(4) Cf. CO. 61 n. for this use of παράγειν.



ΠΕΝΒΑΡΟΣ

ΑΤΕΤΗΒΙ ΖΑΗΛΩΩΤ ΜΗ †ΠΑΡΑ  
 ΚΑΛΕΙ ΠΤΕΤΗΖΩΣΙΩ ΠΕΙΩΤ ΖΑΠΙ  
 5 ΚΑΙ ΤΕΤΗΧΩΚ ΠΕΤΗΠΑ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΠΡΟΣ ΤΕΤΗΝΟΣ ΠΑΚΑΠΕ ΕΤΕΟΥΕΗ  
 ΤΗΤΗΣ ΕΖΟΥΗ ΕΤΑΜΕΤΕΛΑΧΙ  
 †ΗΟΙ ΓΑΡ ΧΕΝΤΑΪΤΟΛΜΑ ΔΙΣΖΑΙ ΠΤΕΤΗ  
 ΖΟΣΙΩ ΠΕΙΩΤ ΕΤΤ<sup>3</sup><sub>1</sub> ΠΑΡΑ ΠΛΕΜΠΩΛ  
 10 ΑΛΛΑ † ΣΗΓΗΩΜΗ ΠΑΪ ΖΗΠΙΚΑΙΣΩΒ ΠΑΙ  
 ΑΥΩ ΤΕΤΗΤΙΤΑΣΚΕ ΠΑΪ ΕΠΕΤΕΩΩΕ  
 ΖΗΠΕΤΗΣΒΟΟΥΕ ΕΤΖΟΛΕ  
 ΘΕΥΠΑ ΠΑΚΑΛ

"Indeed I know that [I have importuned?(1)] your most saintly(2) lord fathership many a time and you have borne with my needs and our burdens. I entreat your most saintly fathership regarding this 5 also (and) that you would complete your charity, in accordance with your great benevolence that you have toward my humility. For I know that I have been bold in writing to your most saintly, revered fathership, beyond my deserts. 10 But grant me indulgence(3) in this matter also and instruct me what is fitting by your sweet teaching. (From)(4) Theona, the . . . ."

## 110.

‡ ΙΩΣΗΦ ΠΑΜΡΕ  
 ΠΤΑΒΙ ΖΗΦΟΙ  
 ΜΠΩΜ ΧΕΜΗ ΑΠΑ  
 ΠΑΠΟΥΤΕ ΠΕΚΟΠΟ  
 5 ΜΟΣ ΧΕΤΙ ΣΟΟΥ ΠΖΕ  
 ΠΑΚΡΑΤΗΠ Α  
 ΠΚΑΜΑΛΙΤΗΣ

(1) †ΖΙCCE or the like.

(2) Ὁσιώτατος usually indicates a bishop, sometimes an abbot. Here gender requires ὁσιότης; v. Ryl. 289 n.

(3) As in RP. no. 11.

(4) Before the name a short, wavy line, possibly abbreviating ΖΗΤΗ.

"Joseph the baker came from the vineyard meadow(1), (saying,) Did not Apa(?) Papnoute the steward say, Give 6 . . . of pure (wine(2)) to the camelherds."

## III.

[Ρ ΠΕΣΠΗΥ ΜΠΤΟ]ΟΥ ΠΤΑΛΑΥ ΕΥΣ2ΑΙ  
 [ΜΠΕΠΕΙΩΤ ΠΕ]ΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΜΠΙΣΑΚ  
 [ΠΑΡΧΗΣΥΜ]ΜΑΧΟΣ ΧΕΠΛΘΕΤΕΕΠ  
 ]ΑΠΡ 2ΩΒ ΚΣΟΟΥΠ ΓΑΡ ΧΠΜΠ  
 5 ΤΕΠΠΡΟΣΟΤΟΣ ΠΜΑΥ ΧΕΠΛΩΠΛ2  
 ΑΡ ΤΑΚΑΠΕ ΟΥΠ ΜΑΡΕΤΕΚ  
 ΜΠΤΧΟΕΙΣ ΚΕΛΣΟΥΣ ΠΚΩΛΩ  
 ΠΜΑ ΤΗΡΨ ΜΠΠΚΕ ?  
 ΜΕΡΗ ΟΥΠ ΜΟΠ ΤΗΡ2ΩΨ 2ΠΚΕ  
 10 ΟΥΟΠ ΞΩΨ[

"[The brethren(?) of the moun]t(?) of Talau(3) write [to our father(?) the] bishop and Isak [the chief cou]rier(4), (saying,) If(?) we neglect(?) (5) when working, for you(6) know that we have not 5 income whence to live, be so kind, then, let your lordship give order and render the whole place equal with the other parts . . . us, for we work in other 10 ones (?) places)[

## III2.

+  
 + 2ΛΘΗ ΜΠΠΩΛ[ΧΕ]  
 ΤΙΛΑΣΠΑΣΕ ΠΤΕΤΜΠΠΩΤ  
 ΤΙΤΑΜΟ ΤΕΤΜΠΠΩΤ  
 2ΕΠΚΕΡΩΜΕ ΠΑΠ Μ[  
 5 ΤΟΚ Ε4ΟΛ 2ΠΕ4ΧΩΜ[

(1) In specific place-names ΕΩΜ occurs as *Pgomentow* P. Lond. IV 1419, 223, *Pkaum(h)ét* P. Cairo MASP. 67109, 25.

(2) Cf. 180 n.

(3) The monastery of *Taron* at Aphrodito is sometimes written *Talow*; v. P. Lond. IV p. 589.

(4) Cf. 206. Whether such is the right translation here may be doubted. Cf. BELL in P. Lond. IV p. 163 n., Ryl. 258 n.

(5) An unlikely translation (supposing ΕΠΠΛΛΘΕΤΕΙ: cf. l. 5).

(6) 2nd sing. is used throughout, clearly addressing the bishop.

ΩΑΝΕΡ ΧΡΙΑ ΝΕΟΛΕΠ [  
 ΧΙΝΕΤΠΕ ΝΥΤΟΟ[Υ Η  
 ΕΠΚΩΤ ΕΜΟΗ ΕΙΣ ΠΕΩ[  
 ]ΜΠΕΝΘΕΝ ΘΥ ΚΩΤ[  
 10 ]C ΚΕΤΑΙΟΥ ΠΥ  
 ΜΠ]ΡΕΩΠΕ ΝΙ.

"Before speech (of the matter), I salute your [father]ship  
 [...] I inform your fathership [...] other men to us [...] 5  
 you out from his ... [...] if] we need to display [...] from  
 over 4 [...] for the building. For lo, the [...] we have not  
 found means (to) build, [...] 10 other 50 and he [...] ]  
 seize (?) ... [

## 113.

Ρ ΤΑΛC ΜΠΑΜΕΡΙΤ  
 ΝΕΙΩΤ ΑΠΑ ΙΟΥCΤΕ ΖΙΤΗΠΑ[ΠΝΟΥΤΕ  
 ΑΡΙ ΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΝΙΜΜΑΙ ΕΩ[ΩΠΕ  
 ΤΗΘΗΝΕ ΠΤΕΚΠΩΘ[ΠΑΓΑΠΗ  
 5 [.]ΑΙ ΕΜΜΟΗ ΩΛ[  
 ]ΤΡΙΚΕΤ[  
 ]ΠΟ[

"Give it to my dear father, Apa Justus, from Pa[pnoute.]  
 Be so kind to me, if(?) [...] we find(1) your great [...] ]  
 to me(?). For [I?] will [

## 114.

+ ΦΟΙΒΑΜ[  
 ΠΑ ΠΑΠΠΟΥ[ΤΕ  
 CΖΑΙ ΠCΤΕΦΑΝ[ΟC ΠΑΛ]  
 ΩΑΠΕ ΧΕΚΑΤΑ ΘΕ Π[ΤΑΚΕΙ]  
 5 CΒΟΛ · ΠCΑΥ ΟΥΩΩ [

(1) "Meet with, experience."

"Phoebam[mon . . . . . Apa Papnoute(1) [. . . .] write(?) to Stephen [. . . . the *la*]shane, (saying,) According as [you?] departed yesterday, please(2) [

## 115.

+ ΕΝΩΧ ΠΕ[4C2A1  
 CON ΙΩCΗ[Φ  
 ΘΕ ΠΤΑΙ2[  
 ΧΕ2ΜΟΟ[C  
 5 ΚΑ . . Τ[

"Enoch it is [writes to my] brother Joseph(3), (saying,) according as I b[ade . . . .] (saying,) Remain [

## 116.

Ρ ΤΑΛΑC?ΠΠΑΜΕΡΙ[Τ  
 2ΙΤΠ2ΗΛΑΚΛΕ[  
 2ΛΘΗ ΜΝ2ΩΒ ΠΙ[Μ  
 . .]CΕ ΠΤΕΚΜΕ[

"Give it to my dear [. . . .], from Heraclius(4) [. . . .]. Before all things [I salu]te(?) your [

## 117.

? ?  
 ΜΕΡΙΤ ΠCΟΠ ΧΟ[  
 ΘΩΜΑC ΧΟΟΥ Π[  
 ΧΕΤΗΦΕΛΛΑΚΗ 2[  
 ΟΥ4 ΜΠΟΟΥ ΜΟΠ[  
 ΜΑΧC ΜΟΥΤΑΚ[  
 ΤC ΧΕΕΙΩΛΗΙ ΕΒΟ[Λ

(1) Possibly Phoebammon's representative or scribe.

(2) Cf. *θέλησον*.

(3) Cf. 184.

(4) With this perverted spelling cf. P. Lond. IV 1549, Hylaklei, and QUIBELL-THOMPSON, *Saqqara* 293, Hèlagre.

+ ΤΑΣ ΝΠΑΜΕΡΙΤ [ΙΙΣΟΗ  
ΓΕΩΡΓΕ ΠΗΡΕΜΙΤΗΣ +[  
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ [

Part of a letter, addressed to "[my] dear brother George, the hermit" (1), from Basil. The words visible are not consecutively intelligible. In 3 "the prison" is perhaps mentioned.

## 118.

]ΠΗΝΕΥ ΠΠΧΟΙ  
2]ΙΤΠΠΑΝΔΙΚΕΥ<sup>x</sup>  
]ΠΩΠΠΑΤΑΡ<sup>x</sup>  
ΧΑΡ]ΤΟΥΛΑΡΗΣ  
5 ]ΠΑΠΑ ΒΑΣΙΛΕ

Fragment in which occur "the sailors of the ship", from whom perhaps the letter emanates, though written by a "land-agent" (2); also the addressee "the(?) son of Patarches" (3), the title *chartularius* and "Apa Basilius".

## 119.

]ΩΗ ΠΩΔ ΠΟΗ  
Π]ΣΥΣΣΑΙ ΜΠΠ.  
ΙΩΣΑΠ]ΠΗΣ ΧΕΑΡΙ ΦΩΒ

Fragment of a letter, showing the name Psha (4), followed probably by a title (5). The addressee's name is John.

(1) Ἐρημίτης seems to be used only here in Coptic texts, though found in Greek from Mid. Egypt. Presumably it is equivalent to ἀναχωρητής, common enough further south.

(2) V. P. Lond. IV 1529.

(3) We cannot read πάρχος, "the pagarch's son".

(4) Cf. 153.

(5) ? ΠΟ(ΠΩ)ΜΑΡΙΤΗΣ.



## 120.

? ΟΥΝΑΙΕΝ  
 ? ΛΙΒΩΚ  
 ΕΠΘΟΥΩΤ ΤΑ-  
 ΜΟΥΣ ΜΜΟΟΥ  
 ΟΥΧΑΙ ΣΗΠΧΟΕΙΣ

"... ] them (?) to me [....] I went to the window to fill them. Farewell in the Lord."

## Accounts.

## 121. Account of Wine.

Seven fragments. The accounts 121—125 are apparently all of the same character and probably all in the same hand. The appearance of the clay in 121 and 122 is indeed so similar that these fragments may all come from the same pot and perhaps belong to the same account; 122 might, for example, be part of col. 2 of 121, though, as the parts preserved are in any case not continuous, it is impossible to be sure of this; the moulding of the clay in two fragments of 122 is certainly rather in favour of the supposition.

As we have no general heading to any of these accounts and they are all extremely fragmentary, it is by no means easy to discover their character and the principle of their arrangement; and I must confess myself unable to put forward any quite convincing explanation.

The arrangement of the various accounts seems to be the same, except that in 121 each line begins with Λ/, whereas Λ/ does not occur in that position in 123. In 121 it is followed by ΟΝΟΙ/, and that by a number denoting the day of the month. Next comes the word ΦΟΡ/ preceded by a number, and followed by Λ/ with a name, usually of a camel-driver, after which comes an amount of wine. In 123 the day of the month (in ll. 1—9 expressed by ἐμολ(ως), i. e. "ditto", referring to a previous number) begins the lines, which for the rest are identical in arrangement with those in 121. The first Λ/ in 121 no doubt refers to the

person responsible for the payment (if, which seems very unlikely, the wine is to be regarded as a *rent in kind* or other due) or consignment (if it is bought from a merchant or wine-grower); the second  $\Lambda$  indicates the camel-driver through whom the wine is delivered; and  $x$   $\phi\omicron\tau$  clearly denotes the number of the payment or delivery ("first", "second"  $\phi\omicron\tau$ ). But what is the meaning of  $\phi\omicron\tau$ ?

If we take 123, which is clearer in its arrangement than 121, we find that ll. 1—9 refer to the same day, while in l. 10  $\Theta\omega\theta$   $\theta$  seems to indicate the beginning of a new day. Now in ll. 4 and 5 we have  $\varepsilon$   $\phi\omicron\tau$ , in ll. 6—9  $\iota$   $\phi\omicron\tau$ , and in l. 10, which, as we have seen, begins a new day,  $\alpha$   $\phi\omicron\tau$ . The  $\phi\omicron\tau$  ( ) seem, then, to be arranged in order; the highest number in these accounts is three; and all three  $\phi\omicron\tau$  ( ) occur or may occur each day.

This is on the whole borne out by 121, though there the arrangement is more confusing.  $\Lambda$   $\omicron\mu\omicron\iota$  no doubt means "by the same", referring to the consignor. The  $\iota\alpha$  which occurs in ll. 1 and 2 is the day of the month. In l. 1 we find the 1st  $\phi\omicron\tau$  ( ), in l. 2 the second. In l. 3 instead of the day of the month and  $x$   $\phi\omicron\tau$  we have  $\tau$   $\varepsilon$ , followed immediately by  $\Lambda$  with the name of the camel-driver. In l. 4, where also the day of the month is omitted, occurs  $\varepsilon$   $\phi\omicron\tau$ . Hence we may probably conclude that the  $\varepsilon$  (the letter, though marked as doubtful, is almost certain) of l. 3 also refers to the  $\phi\omicron\tau$  ( ); and  $\tau$  may very possibly stand for  $\tau\tilde{\eta}\varepsilon$   $\alpha\omega\tau\tilde{\eta}\varepsilon$  (sc.  $\tilde{\eta}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma$ ) or  $\tau\tilde{\eta}$   $\alpha\omega\tau\tilde{\eta}$ ; cf. P. Lond. IV 1433, 17 and *passim*, where  $\tau\tilde{\eta}$  has the same significance. Hence we are probably justified in regarding ll. 2—4 as containing deliveries of the second  $\phi\omicron\tau$  ( ) on the 11th day of the month. In ll. 5 and 6 occurs the third  $\phi\omicron\tau$  ( ) for the same day, but in l. 7 we return to the first  $\phi\omicron\tau$  ( ) (the  $\alpha$ , though marked as doubtful, is again almost certain). In l. 8  $\omicron\mu\omicron\iota$  is followed by a word  $\tau\omicron\gamma$ , which is obscure. It may possibly be an attempt at Thoth, although in ll. 9 and 10 the word is correctly written, but is perhaps the name of a village (not impossible  $\tau\omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma$  =  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\theta\acute{\omicron}$ ; cf. 147, 13, note), the person for whom delivery is made being the same as in the previous lines but the estate different. This

too refers to the 11th day; the  $\phi\omicron\rho( )$  is the third. In ll. 9 and 10 respectively we have the first and the second  $\phi\omicron\rho( )$ .

It will be seen that the arrangement is not so regular as in 123, but apparently here too the intention is, to enter the deliveries according to the order of the  $\phi\omicron\rho( )$ ; the exceptions are probably due to accidental omission at the proper place.

Since all the  $\phi\omicron\rho( )$  occur in a single day and with each new day the series begins afresh, we can hardly explain the word as signifying payments by instalments of an annual due, like, e. g., the three annual tax-payments. It should rather denote successive daily deliveries; and perhaps the likeliest explanation is that there were regular convoys (normally three each day, though higher numbers occur occasionally; e. g., in 368 we have apparently a fifth  $\phi\omicron\rho( )$ ), and that wine received was entered in the day-book according to the convoy by which it came. We may then translate  $\phi\omicron\rho( )$  as either "convoy" or "delivery".

That this explanation, though not free from difficulties (see below), is the correct one, and that  $\phi\omicron\rho( )$  is probably to be extended  $\varphi\varphi\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$ , is strongly suggested by parallel instances. Thus in CRUM's *Short Texts*, we find, in no. 128: "The account ( $\lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ ) of corn brought (on camel): The first  $\phi\omicron\rho\alpha$  by our own camels, 16 artabae; the second ditto, 24; the third, 16; the fourth . . ." So too in TURAIEFF, *Materiale*, 1902, no. 29 (from Achmîm): "17 Epîp, for(?) Pgalashire,  $\phi\omicron\gamma\rho\alpha$  of corn, 24 artabae, for the monastery of . . ."; no. 30, " $\phi\omicron\gamma\rho\alpha$  of corn, 16 thallia(?) . . ."; THOMPSON ap. QUIBELL, *Saqqara, The Mon. of Apa Jeremias*, 1912, pp. 118—119, Ostr. 375 and following, where  $x$   $\phi\omicron\rho( )$  occurs, followed by a number of camels, and a quantity of wine or other article. Again, in the present volume, 365—368 also specify the  $\varphi\varphi\tilde{\alpha}$ , and so 370, where  $\phi\omicron\gamma\rho\alpha$  is written in full; and in the ostraca from Oxyrhynchus published by GRENFELL and HUNT in *Arch. Report*, 1905—6, p. 14 f., the same phrase occurs; for in nos. 5, 6, 7 (PREISIGKE, *S.-B.*, 1966—8)  $\alpha$   $\phi\omicron\rho( )$  is to be read, not  $\alpha$  ( $\tilde{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ ?)  $\varphi\varphi( )$ , but ( $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\eta\varsigma$ )  $\varphi\varphi(\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma)$ . A very close analogy to the present accounts is, further, to be found in PSI. IV 307, an account from Hermopolis headed  $\lambda\acute{\omicron}(\gamma\omicron\varsigma)$  τοῦ ἐνεχθ(έντος) οἴνου εἰς τὴν πόλιν διὰ τῶν χαμῆλ[ων], where



the entries are arranged by  $\xi\xi\rho\acute{\alpha}$ . In l. 4 we have the 1st  $\xi\xi\rho\acute{\alpha}$  (1st Pharmouthi), in 6 the second (2nd Pharmouthi), in 8 and 9 the third and fourth (no date specified, unless Παζών θ in l. 10 refers to these entries); and in ll. 13—15, under the heading ἀνάλ(ωματα) the items are again arranged by  $\xi\xi\rho\acute{\alpha}$ ; the only date is 1st Pharmouthi, with the second  $\xi\xi\rho\acute{\alpha}$  (l. 14). Yet another parallel is B. M. 1091: "On account (behalf) of Gregory's camelherd: for the second day, 16 *ascalonia* — for the 2nd  $\phi\phi\rho\lambda$ , *asc.* 8, for the 3rd  $\phi\phi\rho\lambda$ , *asc.* 8 — for the . . . man, for (of?) the 1st turn (? round), *asc.* 16."

It must, however, be noted that, even if the translation "convoy" correctly represents the sense, it is perhaps not the literal meaning. In Byzantine Greek  $\xi\xi\rho\acute{\alpha}$  regularly meant "time" (see DUCANGE, *s. v.*), so that here too it is possible that the literal translation should be "first (second, etc.) *time*"; and B. M. 1091, where "the 1st turn" may be a Coptic rendering of  $\xi\xi\rho\acute{\alpha}$ , supports this. It may even be that in P. Lond. II 468, 5, p. 81,  $\phi^O \bar{\epsilon}$ , we have an instance of the phrase meaning "second time" (i. e., of payment of camel-tax), though perhaps WILCKEN's rendering, "zwei Raten", is the more likely.

This may perhaps suggest that the explanation adopted above is mistaken: that the reference is not to convoys but to "times" of making payment or delivery, instalments or "Raten". If, however, the convoy theory offers difficulties, the other is also not free from them; and the occurrence of the phrase  $\xi\xi\rho\acute{\alpha}$  in different localities and in different connexions certainly suggests that the reference is to a general system of convoys or relays. This too is perhaps favoured by TURATIEFF's document, " $\phi\phi\rho\lambda$  of corn, 24 artabae", which one might translate: "carriage of corn, 24 artabae"; and finally it is significant that in all cases where  $\xi\xi\rho\acute{\alpha}$  occurs it is in connexion with the conveyance of articles on camel-back. Very likely, indeed, the meaning "time" arose from the earlier sense of "carriage" by a camel-convoy.

As already remarked, the explanation "convoy" is not free from difficulties; but the varying quantity of wine delivered by the various camel-drivers is not, as it might at first sight appear, an objection to it. For in both 121 and 123, where alone the

beginnings of the lines are preserved, all the entries are credited to the same person (Α/ ΟΜΟΙ/ in 121 must mean this, and in 123 no person is named, which seems to imply that the same wine-grower is concerned throughout; so too in 125 ll. 1 and 2 may well be a heading, l. 1 giving the personal name or names, l. 2 that of the estate, while the remaining lines specify the single deliveries); the inference being that these accounts were arranged under personal rubrics. Hence the single items do not necessarily specify the total amount of wine carried by the camel-driver concerned but only the amount brought by him from the estate to which the rubric refers; one camel-driver might bring wine from several consignors.

A more serious objection is perhaps the fact that in 121 Phoebammon seems to occur for both the second (l. 3) and the first (l. 7) *εφεξ*; but this is not decisive. In l. 7 Α, though almost, is not quite certain; there may conceivably have been two camel-drivers named Phoebammon; and as we do not know the distance from which in this case the wine was brought, we cannot say for certain that it was impossible for the same camel-driver to take part in two convoys on the same day.

It will be seen that, imperfect as they are, these accounts have yet a certain value as illustrating the daily routine of supply in a monastic settlement. They are also of interest by reason of the measures which occur in them (for this subject see the section *Metrology* in the General Introduction).

Col. I.]

[Α/ Ο]ΜΟΙ/ ΙΑ Α ΦΟΡ/ Α/ Κ[.] ΚΑΜΙΑΙ[ΤΟΥ]	ΟΙ/ Φ/ ΚΗ.... [
[Α/ Ο]Μ[Ο]Ι/ ΙΑ Β ΦΟΡ/ Α/ ΪΩΑΗ/ ΠΑΡΟΟΥ	ΟΙ/ ΦΟΡ/ 15 Χ
[Α/] ΟΜΟΙ/ Τ/ Β Α/ ΦΟΙΒ/ ΚΑΜΙΑΙΤΟΥ	[ΟΙ/] ΦΟΡ/ Α Χ
Α/ ΟΜΟΙ/ Β ΦΟΡ/ [Α. ?ΜΑ]ΚΑΡ ΚΑΜΙΑΙΤ[ΟΥ]	ΟΙ/ ΦΟΡ/ .] Χ
5 Α/ ΟΜΟΙ/ ΙΑ Γ [ΦΟΡ/ Α/ .]Φ. ΗΣΤ...	ΟΙ/ Φ[ΟΡ/ ..]
Α/ ΟΜΟΙ/ ΙΑ Γ ΦΟΡ/ Α/ ΓΕΩΡΓΙ ΚΑΜΙΑ/	Ο[Ι/ ΦΟΡ/ .....].
Α/ ΟΜΟΙ/ ΙΑ Α ΦΟΡ/ Α/ ΦΟΙ[Β/] ΚΑΜΙ[Α.]	. . . . .
Α/ ΟΜΟΙ/ ΤΟΥ. ΪΑ' Γ ΦΟΡ/ Α/ Κ[....]	. . . . .
Α/ ΟΜΟΙ/ ΘΩΘ ΪΑ Α ΦΟΡ/ Α/ [.....] Φ	. . . . .
10 Α/ ΟΜΟΙ/ ΘΩΘ ΙΑ Β ΦΟΡ/ Α/ [	



Col. 2.]

A/ [

A/ O[NOI/

A/ OMOI/ [

A/ OMOI' A Φ/ [

(ll. 1—4.) "By the same, 11th, 1st convoy, by C . . , camel-driver, 28 phorai of wine. By the same, 11th, 2nd convoy, by John of Parouou, 16 phorai of wine. By the same, same day, 2nd (convoy), by Phoebammon, camel-driver, 30 phorai of wine. By the same, 2nd convoy, by Macarius(?), camel-driver, . . phorai of wine."

1. The four dots following ΚΗ are in the original. Whether the traces before the break are really writing is uncertain, and they may in any case not be part of this column.

2. ἸΩΑΝ(ΗΟΥ) ΠΑΡΟΥΟΥ: the name occurs also in 122, 18, and 385, and is perhaps the same as ΠΕΡΑ in 351 and ΠΕΡΟ in 354; see too 355, 3 note. The cross at the end of this and the following lines is a mark of revision.

3. A/: not certain.

4. ΝΑ]ΚΑΡ: very doubtful.

## 122. Account of Wine.

Five fragments. This account being identical in arrangement with the preceding, though the beginnings of the lines are lost, it is unnecessary to add a translation. The measures which occur are the ὄργον, οὐρά and λυδίων, for which see the General Introduction.

? ΦΟΡ/ ] ΖΕ S ΚΗΛΔ/ ΨΙΖ S [

] A/ ΓΕΩΡ/ ΚΑΜΙΑ/ A ΦΟΡ/ ΟΙ/ [

] A/ ΦΟΙ/ ΚΑΜΙΑ/ ΟΡΓ/ ΙΑ S Φ/ Θ S ΚΗΛΔ/ . X

] ΦΟΡ/ A/ Ζ[Α]ΧΑΡ/ ΚΑΜΙ/ ΟΡΙ/ Β S Φ/ Ι Χ

] A ΦΟΡ/ A/ ΓΕΩΡ/ ΚΑΜΙΑ/ ΦΟΡ/ ΙΑ Χ

] . φορ/ Δ/ ἰω<sup>λ</sup> καμια/ οργ/[ ] η s κηια/ β x  
 ] φορ/ [Δ/] η[.] ο<sup>ο</sup> οργ/ z s φ/ β x  
 ] φ/ Δ s κηια/ .  
 ] οργ/ s s φ/ β x  
 10 Δ/] Γ<sup>ε</sup>ωρ/ καμια/ οργ/ s s φ/ Δ x  
 Δ/] Γ<sup>ε</sup>ωρ/ καμια/ οι/ φορ/ m s κηια/ β x  
 ? Δ/ παμο] γη καμια/ οι/ οργ/ ιε s φ/ η s κηια/ λ x  
 ] . / καμια/ οι/ φορ/ μα s κηια/ λ x  
 ] . Δ/ Γ<sup>ε</sup>ωργη/ καμια/ οι/ φ/ m s κηια/ β x  
 15 Δ/] παμ' ο' γη s ἰω<sup>λ</sup> καμια/ οι/ φ/ mβ s κηια/ λ x  
 ] Δ/ zaxap/ s ενωx καμια/ οι/ φ/ μα x  
 ] λ φ/ Δ/ Γ<sup>ε</sup>ωρ/ καμια/ οι/ φ/ m s κηια/ β x  
 Δ/] ἰω<sup>λ</sup> παροογ οι/[ ] φ/[ ] κ x

1. This is the top line of the column.

s: the regular abbreviation for xxi.

2. λ φορ/: this position is unusual; perhaps the clerk forgot to insert the number of the convoy at the right place.

3. κηια/: very doubtful, but xxi: usually follow ερεxi.

6. At the beginning λ is perhaps rather more likely than β.

7. η[.] ο<sup>ο</sup>: hardly η[ap] ο<sup>ο</sup> (l. 18), as that seems to be a place-name.

10. Γ<sup>ε</sup>ωρ/: very doubtful.

12. παμο] γη: cf. l. 15.

13. . . / : or . x ( z]ax?).

### 123. Account of Wine.

Four fragments.

ο[μοι/  
 οη[οι/  
 ομοι/[  
 ομοι/ β φ[ορ]/ [  
 5 ομοι/ β φορ/ Δ/ [  
 ομοι/ Γ φορ/ Δ/ ἰω[λ  
 ] κηια/ . x  
 οι/] φορ/ κ x  
 οι/] φ/ m s κηια/ β x  
 ] οι/ φ/ μα s κηια/ λ x  
 ] οι/ φ/ λη x  
 ] οι/ φ/ m s κηια/ β x

ΟΜΟΙ Γ ΦΟΡ/ Δ/ ΛΗΔΡ/ Κ[ΛΜ]ΙΛ/ ΟΙ Φ/ ΛΣ Χ  
 ΟΜΟΙ Γ ΦΟΡ/ Δ/ ΣΕΡ/ Σ ΚΥΡ/ Κ[ΛΜ]Ι/ ΟΙ Φ/ ΜΓ Χ  
 ΟΜΟΙ Γ ΦΟΡ/ Δ/ ΖΑΧΑΡ/ ΚΑΜΙΑ/ ΟΙ Φ/ Κ Χ  
 10 ΘΩΘ Θ Α ΦΟΡ/ Δ/ ΛΗΔΡΕ/ ΟΙ Φ/ ΙΖ Σ ΜΕ/ ΛΣ Χ  
 ΚΛ[...]. Χ  
 ..] ΚΛΑΣΝ<sup>Α</sup> ΟΙ Φ/ Σ Σ ΜΕ/ Β Σ ΚΗΔ/ Σ Σ ΚΙ[ΠΑ/  
 ] . . . . ΦΟΡ/ ΤΑΔ Σ ΜΕ/ [  
 ] ! Σ ΚΙΠΑ/ ΤΠΗ Σ ΚΗΔ/ Κ[  
 15 ] . Σ ΟΡΓ/ ΠΔ Σ ΚΗΔ/ . [  
 ] . Σ ΟΡΓ/ ΟΔ Σ Κ[ΗΔ/  
 ] Σ ΚΙΠΑ/

8. ΜΓ : Γ, which is doubtful, is a correction.

10. ΜΕ/ ΛΣ Χ : if this is right, the meaning is " $1\frac{1}{2}$  μέγαλα", the cross being the usual sign of revision; but it is equally possible to read μέ/ α Σ (= χαί) .[, another measure following Σ. In any case it is a difficulty that μέγα, which in 167 = ερεά, is here and in l. 12 distinct from it; see the General Introduction.

11. ΚΛ[...]. : perhaps ΚΛ[ΑΣΜ<sup>Α</sup>]. as in l. 12.

12. ΚΛΑΣΜ<sup>Α</sup> : probably a fractional payment of some kind, though with so fragmentary a context it is impossible to explain χλάσμα with confidence. The word occurs also in P. Lond. IV 1431, 26, etc. (see introduction there); 1435, 158 (see note); 1443, 65; B. M. 605, p. 288; Ryl. Copt. 226; but in none of these cases is the meaning quite clear. Cf. P. Cairo Masp. III 67340 verso, 49, εἰς τοὺς χλασμοὺς τῆς εἰκονημίας.

ΚΙ[ΠΑ/ : see ll. 14 and 17. There cannot be much doubt about the reading, and cf. 164, 9. The word occurs in a Theban ostrakon copied by Mr. R. ENGELBACH, and is explained by M. C. KUENTZ (quoted by ENGELBACH, *Ann. du Serv.*, XXI 124) as the Lat. *simpulum*. It will be noticed that in l. 14 ΚΙΠΑ/ precedes, whereas here it follows, the number of χνίδα; but ΚΙ[ΠΑ/ nevertheless seems the obvious reading.

## 124. Account of Wine.

]ϠΟΥ ΟΙ/ ΚΗΛΑ/[  
 ]ΠΑΡΙC ΟΙ/ ΦΟΡ/ Γ' S Κ[ΗΛΑ/  
 ? ΑΜ]ΠΕΛ/ ΟΙ/ ΦΟΡ/ Μ' S ΚΗ[ΙΔ/  
 ]ΧΗ CΒCΣΤ ΟΙ/ ΦΟΡ/ Ξ' S ΚΗΛΑ/[  
 5 ]Ϟ ΕΞΟΙΠΗΡ/ ΠΑΠΗ/ ΟΙΚΟΝΟ ΦΟ[Ρ]/[  
 ]ΕΙC ΠΑΠΑ ΑΠΟΛ/ ΟΜΟΙ/ ΟΙ/ ΦΟΡ/[  
 ]/ ΦΟΙΒ/ S CΤΕΦ/ ΟΙ/ ΦΟΡ/ Β[

1. ]ϠΟΥ: these words at the beginning are place-names, probably those of the estates from which the wine came.

2. ]ΠΑΡΙC: or ]ΠΑΡΙΓ.

3. ? ΑΜ]ΠΕΛ/: see 125, 2.

4. ]ΧΗ: qu. ΠΑΓΑΡ]ΧΗ? Esbeht = Apollinopolis, which was a pagarchy.

5. ]Ϟ ΕΞΟΙΠΗΡ/: the character at the beginning looks more like Ϟ (= ὑπέρ) than either ι/ (or ϣ/) or χ; but ὑπέρ is difficult to reconcile with what follows, for ΕΞΟΙΠΗΡ/ is naturally interpreted as ἕξ ἐπιγρᾶψῆς. For ἐπιγρᾶψῆ see PREISIGKE, *Fachwörter*, s. v.; P. Oxy. XII 1445, 8 note; EDGAR, *Ann. du Service*, XIX, p. 85. "Assessment", the commonest meaning in the Roman period, is likely enough here, especially as Papnuthius is an οἰκονόμος; but the phrase may conceivably mean "by commission from"; see ἐπιγρᾶψω, 3, in PREISIGKE, *Fachwörter*. It is possible to divide Ϟ ΕΞ ΟΙΠΗΡ/, taking ΕΞ as ἕξ and οἰπ as the measure so called; but this does not seem to give much sense.

ΟΙΚΟΝΟ: no doubt a monastic οἰκονόμος; see P. van CAUWENBERGH, *Moines d'Ég.*, p. 115<sup>1</sup>; BRECCIA, *Bull. Soc. Arch. d'Alex.*, IV, S. IV, p. 75 f. (1918), and CRUM, *C. O.*, p. XIX. The οἰκονόμος Papnoute often appears in these texts as writer or recipient; so too Stephen (l. 7).

6. ΕΙC: perhaps εἰς, "to the account of". ἐμολ(ως) ("ditto") may refer to ΟΙΚΟΝΟ in the previous line.

## 125. Account of Wine.

] / ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ ΠΑΠΗΡΟ[ΥΘ/  
 ] ΟΡΓ/ ΑΜΠΕΛΟ[Υ] ΝΟΤ[ΙΝ]  
 ] ΟΙ/ ΚΝΙΔ/ ΊΑ  
 ] ΟΙ/ ΚΝΙΔ/ Κ  
 5 ] ΟΙ/ ΦΟΡ/ Δ. S ΚΝΙΔ/ . .  
 ] ΟΙ/ ΦΟΡ/ Η [  
 ΟΙ/ ΚΝΙΔ/ [

1. It is uncertain whether this was the top line of the column.

2. ΟΡΓ/: ὄργον or ὄργανον in the common sense of "field"; see BELL on P. Lond. V, 1741, 5.

## 126. Account of Wine.

This account is somewhat obscure in character. If the explanation on which the translation is based is correct, it specifies issues or sales of wine, according to the jars (καδοι) from which the wine was taken. But a difficulty on this view is constituted by ll. 5, 6 (see notes), and it is to be remarked that 7 in l. 4 might be merely the sum of 3 (l. 2), 2 (l. 3) and 2 (l. 4); hence it is possible that ΑΠΟ ΚΑΔ/ is to be explained in some other way. In any case it is worthy of note that big and little *cnidia* occur; see the General Introduction.

+ ΓΗΩΣΙ/ ΟΙ/  
 ΜΓ ΚΝΙΔ/ ΑΠΟ ΚΑΔ/ Δ Γ  
 ΜΓ ΚΝΙΔ/ ΑΠΟ ΚΑΔ/ Γ' Β  
 ΑΠΟ ΚΑΔ/ Β Ζ  
 5 ΜΚ ΚΝΙΔ/ ΑΠΟ ΚΑΔ/ Α  
 ΜΚ S ΜΓ ΚΕΦΛ/ ΟΔ

"Account of wine. Large *cnidia* from jar 4, 3. Large *cnidia* from jar 3, 2; from jar 2, 7. Small *cnidia* from jar 1. Small and large, of the original stock (?), 74."



## 3. B: a correction.

5. If the explanation given above is correct, a figure ought to follow  $\lambda$ , but there is no trace of one. Perhaps it was accidentally omitted (note that the clerk at first omitted  $\tau$  in l. 3); or it may just possibly have been lost;  $\lambda$  in l. 6 seems to have lost part of its downstroke.

6. The translation supposes that κεφ<sup>λ</sup>/ is κεφαλαίου, *i. e.* the original stock of wine from which the amounts noted above were taken. Thus this line gives the remainder still in hand. But it is curious that μικρά and μεγάληα are lumped together.

## 127. Account of Wine.

The left side of this ostrakon is very dark, and οι/ is guessed at rather than read; but it is probable that wine is in question. ΜΕΚΡ/ = μικρά.

] οι/ ΜΕΚΡ/ ΟΛ  
 οι/] ΜΕΚΡ/ : ΡΙΟ  
 ] οι/ ΜΕΚΡ/ ΡΙΖ  
 οι/ ΜΕΚ]Ρ/ ΤΚΒ  
 5 ] οι/ ΜΕΚΡ/ : ΤΖ

## 128. Tax(?) -List.

Papyrus.

<sup>οι</sup>  
 χ δ ΠΑΣΟΗ ΑΗΔ.[ΡΕΑΣ  
<sup>οι</sup>  
 χ ἱβ ΖΕΝΣΠΗΥ ΠΤΕ ΝΚΟΥΪ ΝΡΠΗΥΕ β<sup>ε</sup>μ α  
 ΓΕΩΡΓΕ ΦΑΛΚ ΠΣΒΗΖΤ ΣΧΟΛΛΣ αν α  
 ΑΛΥΕΙΑ ΠΣΥΜ<sup>xx</sup> [

On other side (*recto*), end of a πράσις.

From a list of dates, names and perhaps taxes (*cf.* ἀνδρισμός? in 3). In 2 "brethren of the small temples" implies perhaps a monastic settlement among ancient ruins (1). In 3

(1) Ibn Duḡmāk V, 17 mentions 2 villages in middle Egypt named *El-Birba el Kabir* and *el-Sughair* respectively, "the great" and "the small temples". Monks as well as peasants doubtless utilised the ruins: witness the Christian remains in the temples of Denderah and Medinet Habū.

George (1), a *σχιλαστικός* (?) of Esbêhet (Apollinopolis), is mentioned; in 4 David, a *σύμμαχος*.

### 129. Account of Corn (?).

ΟΥΠΩΜΗΤ =

+ ΤΩΠΕ ΤΩΕ ΜΦΑΠΕ· ΟΥΟΠΕ· ΖΕΡΒΕΚΚΕ ΤΕΣΙ.  
 ΠΑΛΥΕΙΑ· ΟΠΕ ΣΠΤΕ· ΤΒΕΚΚΕ ΟΥΟΠΕ ΜΠΟΥΧΩ  
 [·]ΑΜΑ ΤΩΕ ΠΑΠΑ ΒΙΚΤΩΡ = ΟΥΜΑΛΧΕ ΟΥΟΣ =  
 [ΜΑ]ΡΙΔΑΜ ΘΙΜΕ ΜΠΩΕ ΠΓΕΩΡΓΕ ΠΩΕ ΠΑΛΧΗΛΟΣ  
 5 ]ΠΕ ΠΣΑ[Π]ΠΕΣ ΟΥΠΩΜΗΤ = ΤΑΠΑΣΤΕ ΤΩΕ  
 ΠΕ]ΚΩΤ = †ΡΗΠΗ †ΙΟΟΥΠΕ ΟΥΜΑΛΧΕ  
 ]ΡΕ ΦΑΟΚΑΛΙΟΣ ΕΡΕΠΠΟΥΓΕ  
 ] — ΜΑΚΡΟΒΕ

“Tsône, the daughter of Phane, 1 *oipe* (and) a half-tenth (2). Rebecca, the wife of David, 2 *oipe*. Tbekke 1 *oipe* and a [ . . . . ] ama, the daughter of Apa Victor, 1 *maaje* and a half. Mariham, the wife of the son of George, the son of Lachêlos (3), [s] [ . . . . ], the oil dealer, a half-tenth. Tanaste, the daughter [of . . . . the] builder. Tirene, the . . . . (4), 1 *maaje*. [ . . . . ] . . . Philocalios (5), [may?] God [(6) ‘forgive him] — Macrobius . . . .”

### 130. List of Names.

Α]ΠΟΛΛΩ ΤΣΥ · ΚΒ  
 ]ΑΡ ΤΣΥ · ΚΣ  
 Α]ΠΑ ΜΑΚΑΡΕ ΤΣΗ · Α  
 ]ΓΕ ΠΠΑΤΡΕΜΩΗ · Β

(1) ΖΑΑΚ may be a title (trade name), v. Jême 70, 32, BM. 168. The first Α is hardly doubtful.

(2) See *Introd.*, *Metrology*, under ΟΠΕ.

(3) Pshenlachêlos might of course be a place-name, without intervening genitive, as in 157.

(4) Can this be the fem. of ΕΙΟΟΥΠ: V. Ryl. 226n. In *Saggara* 133 perhaps ΠΕΙΟΟΗ.

(5) This name apparently in BM. 1082.

(6) Recalls the phrase common in later Fayyûmic texts: BM. 582 (1), KRALL CCXXVII etc., though its use in a list is unexpected.

5 Α]ΠΑ ΕΠΩΧ ΤΑ2ΡΟΥΧ . ΙΑ  
 Α]ΠΑ ΦΙΒ 2ΗΙΣ . Γ  
 ΑΠ]Α ΑΝΟΥΠ Ω2Α2ΟΥΡΗΗ . ΚΗ  
 ]2ΗΙΣ . ΚΑ

A list of proper-names, each followed by a place-name and a number. The persons are: Apollo, [Wano]br (?), Apa Macarius, [. . . .]te, Apa Enoch, Apa Phib, Apa Anoup, [. . . .]. The places: Tsê(1), Pepatremôn(2), Tahrouj(3), Hnis (*bis*)(4), Shahourên(?) (5).

### 131. Account of Corn Shipments.

+ 2ΜΠΟΥΩΨ ΠΠΠΟ[ΥΤΕ  
 ΠΤΑΝΤΑΛΟΟΥ Ε2Ρ[ΑΙ  
 ]ΠΩΠΗΡΡΕ . π αρ σλη[  
 ]ΠΩΟΡΠ Η2ΟΟΥ 2ΙΤΟΠΦΟ[  
 5 ]ΠΜΕ22ΟΟΥ ΣΠΔΥ 2ΙΤΕΠΦ[  
 ]π αρ ρν[

„By the will of God, [. . . .] which we have loaded (*or* shipped) [. . . .] Pshenberre(6), corn, *artabae* 238 [. . . .] The 1st day, by Pho[ebammon, . . .]. The 2nd day, by Ph[. . . makes] corn, *artabae* 150[+?

### 132. Account of Supplies.

Ρ ΠΛΑΚΖΟΣ CO ΜΑΛΧΕ  
 ]ΒΑΗΚ : ΗΚΕCO ΜΑΛΧ[Ε  
 ]ΦΕΒ CO ΜΑΛΧΕ  
 ]Α ΜΠΩΡΒ CO  
 5 ΒΙ]ΚΤΩΡ  
 ]?

(1) Presumably Etsa, between Samalût and Minyah, which would be the ΤCH where dwelt the hermit Pamin (for it is to him that AMÉLINEAU, *Géogr.* 586 *inf.*, relates). Cf. also P. Lond. IV 1460, 44, CLÉDAT, *Baouit* I 115.

(2) Rather Eppatremôn. Cf. KRALL CCLV etc. Now El-Badramân, SW. of Dalga.

(3) Cf. ? Dahrout, v. 218.

(4) Ahnâs. Ehnis in Ryl. 347.

(5) First letter, if not ω, may be two smaller ones.

(6) V. 360n.

"The masons, 6 *maaje* . [ . . . . ] . . , other 6 *maaje* . [ . . . . ] . . , 6 *maaje* [ . . . . ] . . The place name Pôrb(1) and the name Victor are visible."

### 133. Account of Wine.

+ ΠΛΟΓΟΣ ΠΗ  
 ΗΡΠ ΠΤΑΠΤΑ  
 ΛΟΟΥ ΖΗΤΟΥΣΩ  
 ΜΠΤΕ ΠΟΙΧ  
 5 ΜΠΣΟΟΥ ΠΧΗ  
 ΜΠΗΛ ΕΤΕ  
 ΠΑΪΗΕ ΣΑΩ  
 ΒΕ ΠΩΕ ΩΥΕ  
 ΩΛΤΕΟΥΕΙ

"The list of the wine which we transported (2) from Touhô(3): 10 'hands'(4) and 6 . . . . .(5), making 770, save 1."

### 134. Account of Dates.

Ρ ΠΛΟΓ/ ΜΠΒΠ  
 ΩΟΟΥΕ ΜΦΟΙ  
 ΜΠΡΗC : ΤΖ

"The account of the dried dates(6) from the southern meadow: 307."

(1) Cf. 379.

(2) Probably by water, seeing that the verb ΤΑΛΟ is used.

(3) On the confusion of places and their spellings involved in this name v. Ryl. 369 n. This is the most frequent place in our texts. If it is Taha al-Madinah (now disappeared), we must seek it close to Minyah; for we gather from *Synax.*, 11th Kihak (Ptolemy), that it lay a little SE. of the still extant Tûkh (ΤΩΞΕ) al-Khail (AMÉLINEAU, *Géogr.* 524). It may be noted that Thallou, the place next in frequency here, is perhaps identical with Tallah, 2 m. W. of Minyah. (Cf. 271 n.)

(4) ΟΙΧ as a liquid measure seems improbable. It is used of grain, e. g. in Ezek. XIII. 19 (ὀράξ); cloth Miss. IV, 723, BM. 1066. Cf. also 101.

(5) Presumably a Greek word beginning CΥΜ- and indicating a measure less than the "hand"; or possibly CΠΛΟΥΗ (v. 123 n.) miswritten.

(6) This construct form of ΒΗΗΕ seems new. Cf. ΕΛΕΑΩΟΟΥΕ. The preposition following is probably "of"; hence ("the product) of".

## 135. List of Wine Jars.

ρ ΠΛΟΓΟΣ ΝΕΨΘΩΟΥ  
 ΠΗΡΠ ΠΙΛΙΟΧ ΠΩΟΡΠ  
 ΠΧΟΪ ΤΛΙΟΥ ΜΠΟΥΕΙ  
 ΠΠΟΘ ΠΚΕΥΕ ΤΚ

"The list of the wine jars of (? for) Tiloj (1) The first ship, 51 (jars); large vessels 320 (2)."

## 136. List of Vessels.

ΠΟΡΚΗ[  
 ΠΓΟΛΛΘΕ[  
 ΨΟΜΤΕ Μ[  
 ΠΛΑΓΟΠ . . . Ψ[  
 5 ΟΥΚΟΥΪ ΠΟΛΛΘΕ<sup>sic</sup>[  
 ΟΥΟΤΣ ΝΣ[  
 ΟΥΖΑ . [

A list of vessels, presumably containing wine. The number preceding each is (except in 3) lost. The sorts named are: ἔργανον (or ἔργον), κόλλαθον, λάγκον, small κόλλαθον, οἷς (for *hots*).

## 137. List of Vessels.

ΑΠΑ ΜΗΠΑ  
 ΠΟΘ ΠΚΕΟΥΕ  
 : ΙΑ = ΟΜΕΟΣ  
 ΨΜΧΕ[ . . . ]ΚΑ  
 ΜΕ[  
 ΦΟΪΒ[  
 Ψ.[  
 ΜΜ[

"Apa Mena (3): large vessels, 14. Likewise 300["

(1) V. AMÉLINEAU, *Géogr.* 137. The identification with Nilopolis is confirmed by ZOEGA 326, where Tiloj = Νειλόπολις ROC. 1913, 139.

(2) If ΤΚ were not a numeral, the words might be divided otherwise.

(3) Probably the recipient of Enoch's 6 orders for delivery of wine.



## 138. Account of Corn.

ΠΟΟΙΕ

+ ἸϞ ΕΛΜΟΥΛ ΖΗΡΑΚΥΛ-  
 ΜΩΠ ΩΟΜΕΤ ΠΕΡΤΟϢ ΠϞΟ  
 ΠϞΟΥΟ Γ ΦΙΒΑΜΩΠ ΠΟΟΙΕ Π  
 ΖΉΡΑΚΥΑΜΩΠ ΟΥΘΟΠΕ Π  
 5 ϞΟΥΟ ἸΩΖΑΠΗϞ ΠϞΖϞΑΛΖ

"Jesus (1). The camel (of) Heraclamon (2), the husbandman, 3 *artabae* of corn, 3. Phibamon, the husbandman, to (?) Heraclamon, a sack of corn. John, the . . . . (3)."

## 139. Account of Fodder.

+ ἸΩΑΠ ΠΜΑΕΛΜΟΥΛ  
 ΖΑΠϞΙΜ ΩΜΟΥΠ + ΠϞΟΥΠ  
 Ε ΜΠΤΑϞΕ ΠΕΡΤΟϢ  
 ΠϞΙΜ ΖΑΠΗΡΠ ΠΠΑΛΑ  
 5 ΠΖΟΙΡΕ ΕΓΡΑΦΗ ΕΠΕΙΦ  
 ΚΑ ΠΑΛ/ Ο

"John, the camelherd, for fodder (for?) Shmoun: 5 sacks (4), 16 *artabae* of fodder (in exchange) for the wine of Plalenhoire (5). Written 21st of Epeiph, 9th Indiction." After l. 6 are 2 lines, wherein only ΕΡΡ/ is legible.

## 140. Account of Supplies.

ΠΤΑϞΙΤΑΑΥ Π  
 ΕΙΚΩΒ ΠΩΠΖΩΡ  
 Ρ ΠΛΟΓΟϞ ΠΠϞϞΕΚΕΥΟΥϞ  
 ΧΟΥΩΤΕ ΜΜΑΧϞ Π

(1) *CO.* 466 is a list similarly headed by this name.

(2) Here written both times clearly *Hērakymōn* (? -wamōn). The Π (in l. 4) if indeed it be that letter, has a very strange form.

(3) A mistake for ΠϞΑΖ appears unlikely. Possibly one of the many place-names formed with *Pah-*, *Peh-*, modern *Bah-*. An illegible line follows this.

(4) Of corn?

(5) This place recurs in 90.

COY'O : M̄NCOOY M̄NECTE  
 5 M̄NHNZ : M̄NΩOMTE  
 M̄NOCINE M̄EΩΩ[NE]  
 OYCOOYNE M̄E[  
 IΩZAHHC[  
 MOICHHC[  
 10 M̄COY[O  
 M̄CH[  
 M̄ΩN[  
 ΩOM[  
 M̄NCT[O  
 15 [...]EP[

"The list of the chattels that I gave to Jacob, the son of  
 Hôr(1): — 25 *maaje* of corn and 6 *xestes* 5 of oil and 3 *oipe*  
 of cucumbers(2), a bag of [. . . .] John [. . . .] Moses [. . . .]  
 10 of corn (?) [. . . .] 3 [. . . .] and 4 [. . . .]"

#### 141. List of Articles.

+  
 + KCLΛAPC CNAΥ M̄NEBIO CNAΥ M̄CTAΓMA  
 OYCOPOTON M̄NHP OYHOE M̄KANHCCE M̄TΩPC  
 OYMAAXC M̄BHN M̄CΩTP CTOOY M̄EPOMPE  
 M̄NOYKANHCCE M̄EΩP̄C

"2 pots of honey. 2 (pots) of *stagma* (3). A . . . . (4)  
 of wine. A large basket of wicker work (?) (5). A *maaje* of se-  
 lected dates. 4 doves and a basket of mixed contents(6)."

(1) In 164 Psenhôr is in itself a man's name.

(2) So spelt in KRALL CCXLV.

(3) Cf. BM. 1041.

(4) Cf. 186.

(5) Merely suggested by the meaning "willow" given to TΩPC, which must however be the name also of another plant; cf. *Méls. Or.* Beirut VI, 514, where Christ's crown is of ΩC HOΩPI. Here however one expects the contents of the basket, not its material. Cf. perhaps TΩPC in HALL, p. 57, though there it may be "handfuls" (of reeds).

(6) This meaning is confirmed by WESSELY, *Stud.* XX, 218, 31, διακρίων μεττὸν διαφόρων βρωμάτων, with which cf. Ryl. 158, 37, ib. 240, and such biblical uses as in Lev. XVI, 12, Num. IV, 16; also Ezek. XXIII, 41.

## 142. Account of Expenses.

] ΠΛΟΥΣ ΠΤΕΩ[  
 ΠΡ]ΟΥΦΟΡΑ ΠΤ[  
 ]ΜΑΘΙΑΣ ΦΑΜ[  
 ](erasure) ΖΑΤΑΓ[ΑΠΗ  
 5 ]ΠΗΡΠ ΠΣΟ[  
 ΖΑΠΑΣΟ[Π  
 ΖΑΠ[

An account of expenses, including offerings on behalf of the dead (l. 2 προσφορά) and alms (l. 4 ἀγάπη). In l. 5 perhaps κοροῦτον, as an epithet of wine (1).

## 143. List of Articles.

Papyrus.

ΟΥΝΟΣ ΜΜΟΧΛΟΣ Μ.[  
 ΟΥΜΑΧΕ ΜΠΕΝΠΕ  
 ΟΥΕΙΝΕ ΜΠΕΝΠΕ [  
 ΨΟΜΠΤ ΠΚΕΛΕΒΙ[Π  
 5 ΟΟΟΥ ΜΠΕΝΠΕ  
 ΨΟΜ(ΠΤ) ΠΚΛΘ[ΕΤ]ΗΣ  
 a line lost here  
 ΟΜΟΙ/ ΟΥΝΟΣ ΜΠΕΝΠ[Ε  
 ΟΥΚΛΘΕΤΗΣ ΠΤΑΖΤ[

"A large bar of (2) [. . . .], a *maje*-measure (3) of iron, a chain of iron [. . . .], 3 axes [. . . .], 5 6 irons (4), 3 plumb-lines (5) [. . . .] Likewise, a large iron [. . . .], a plumb-line of lead [. . . .]."

(1) Cf. 186.

(2) Though a qualifying word followed here, several at least of the following lines appear complete.

(3) The measuring vessel of this capacity is not, I think, met with elsewhere.

(4) Here and in 7 "irons" may mean chains, as Ryl. 321, *Pap. Codex* p. 46, *BIF.* XV, 242 etc.; or iron tools, as Eccli. XLVIII, 21, Deut. XIX, 5. Π. ΠΣΟΜΠΤ Rossi, *N. Cod.* 83, "bronze irons (chains)", is notable.

(5) Probably καθέτης, which Stephanus quotes from a glossary in the sense of καθετός.

## 144. List of Articles.

Papyrus, 2 fragments.

- a) ]ΟΥΡΟΖΤΕ ΕΟΡΤΕ Γ̄ COΥΡΕ Z  
ΟΥΟ]ΥΛΖΤΕ ΟΥΟΥΟΘ COOK B̄ ΟΥΖ[
- b) ΟΥ]CΩΜΑΡC ΤΜΑΩ[  
].Ω ΩΗΕ B̄ ΤΩ[

"... a cauldron, 3 knives, 7 needles [. . . . ., a] mould (?) (1), a cup(2), 2 sacks, a[. . . . ., a] ladle(3), the(4) ..[. . . . .  
..], 2 nets . . ."

## 145. List of Articles.

- ]ΩΟΙ  
]Ε ΠCΑΛΕΠ  
]Ε ΠΒΗΠ ΕΒΟΛ ΟΥΜΑ  
]T̄. ЧТО ЛОИХЕ : ΩΟΜ  
5 Π]ΡΙΩ ΟΥΠΙΠCΙC ΘΕΜΙΛ  
[ΤΗΡC ΟΥΖB]B̄ ΕCΕΟΡΕC ΟΥΖΟΙ ΕCΕΟΡΕC  
]Ε CΗΠΤΕ ΟΥΩΗΕ ΤΛΖT̄

List in which the Arabic (Christian) name "Salīb" perhaps occurs (5); also "4 lances (6), 3 [. . . . .], [. . . . .] cloaks, a wash-basin, [. . .] censers(7), a plough provided (? with its appurtenances(8)), a water-wheel provided (? likewise), 2 [. . . . .], a net, lead [

(1) Assuming a connexion with ΟΥΩΤZ.

(2) Κύαθο; in Num. IV, 17.

(3) Cf. Ryl. 238 CΩΜΑΡΙCΤO(C), where ζωμάριCτo; is suggested, and P. Lond. V, 1657, 10, σωμάριCτa.

(4) The gender of ΠΛΩΕPT "cable" is unknown, otherwise it might be read here.

(5) This assumes Π to end the word, whereas it may be the article of that following.

(6) Hunting weapons perhaps; scarcely military. The Copts (according to A. J. BUTLER, *Churches* II, 44) use no such instrument at the Sacrament.

(7) Θυματήριον, as in P. Lond. IV, 1631, Ryl. 238.

(8) Or perhaps "ready" for use.

## 146. List of Articles.

]. B[  
 ]: Γ: ΒΡ  
 ]ΟΥΧΗΟΗ ΠΟΥ  
 ΡΩ ΑΛΛΥ ΒΑΛΟΤ: Β  
 5 ΕΥΜΕ2: COOK: Β:  
 ΜΠΠΕΤΕΩΟΥ  
 ΟΥΜΟΥΡΚΙΕ ΠΟΥ  
 ΠΑΓΕ:

"...] a basket of white beans(1), 2 bags full, 2 sacks with what is on them, a . . . . (2) for the communion."

## 147. Account of Vegetables (?).

Account of a vegetable garden for a large part of a month (11th—28th, omitting two days). For the reckoning of vegetables by *δέματα* see, *e. g.*, P. Lond. IV, 1375, 20; but as the first of the two headings specifies "palm-branches", the bundles may be of them, not vegetables.

+ ΛΟΓ/ ΒΑΣΗ ΓΡΑΦ ΠΑΧΩΗ Η ΙΑ  
 ΙΑ Η ΑΓΜΛ 5 ΛΟΓ/ ΛΑΧΛΗΑ ΒΩΡΑ  
 ΙΒ Η ΑΓΜΛ Η  
 ΙΓ Η ΑΓΜΛ Ζ  
 5 ΙΔ Η ΑΓΜΛ 5  
 ΙΕ Η ΑΓΜΛ 5  
 ΙΣ Η ΑΓΜΛ Ε  
 ΙΖ Η ΑΓΜΛ Ζ  
 ΙΗ Η ΑΓΜΛ 5  
 10 Κ Η ΑΓΜΛ Ε  
 ΚΑ Η ΑΓΜΛ Ε + ΛΟΓ/ Λ/ ΠΚΩΜΑΡ Π ΤΠΟΕ ΑΠΩΕ  
 ΚΒ Η ΑΓΜΛ 5 ΚΗ Η ΑΓΜΛ ΙΒ  
 ΚΓ Η ΑΓΜΛ 5 ΟΜΟΙ ΤΟΟΥ ΑΓΜΛ Ζ  
 ΚΔ Η ΑΓΜΛ Ε  
 15 ΚΕ ΑΓΜΛ Ε  
 ΚΖ ΑΓΜΛ 5  
 + Γ/ ΑΓΜΛ ΠΟ

(1) Cf. Ryl. 347.

(2) In the list P. Lond. IV, 1610 ΜΟΡΚΙΕ stands next "a woman's garment". As a noun *βερσικός* -ή is not recorded. For *σανάγειν* thus cf. BUDGE, *Misc.* 375, 399.



"Account of palm branches (?), written Pachon 8th, 11th (indiction). Account of vegetable garden of Bora (?). 11th day, 6 bundles, 12th day, 8 bundles", etc. "Total, 89 bundles."

1. ΒΛΕΗ: more probably, as translated, palm-branches (ΒΑΙ) than a name.

1Α: though 1<sup>Α</sup> is not added, there can be little doubt the indiction is meant.

2. Η: = ἡμέρας.

ΒΩΡΑ: if the reading is correct (and though doubtful it is fairly probable), this may very likely = Βερρᾶ, i. e. "the Northern vegetable garden".

11. The figures here and in ll. 12, 14—16, and probably the ο of the total are corrections. Before + ΛΟΓ/Κ.Τ.Λ. something, perhaps ΚΣ, has been deleted.

ΠΚΩΜΑΡ: probably ΠΚΩΜΑΡΙΤΗΣ, "the gardener". What follows is obscure; Π ΤΙΘΕ seems certain, but the letters ΑΠΩΕ are doubtful in the extreme, though ω seems to be right.

13. ΤΟΟΥ: doubtful; perhaps an attempt at τῆς αὐτῆς (ἡμέρας), but more probably (especially as ΟΜΟΙ/ sufficiently expresses the date) the place-name, Touhō.

#### 148. List of "Bundles".

Τ]ΙΟΥ ΜΟΥΡ Π Β  
 ]ΠΑ ΜΗΜΗΤ ΜΟ[ΥΡ  
     sic  
 ]ΜΗΖ ΜΟΥΡ Π Λ[  
 ΝΑ]ΔΕ ΜΟΥΡ Π[  
 5       ]Π Λ[

List of "bundles" (1), 50, 10, 40(?), 30 respectively, with a sum of money, in νομισματα, opposite each.

(1) ΜΟΥΡ is found in KRALL CCXLVII, and in a Balaiza fragment (bundles of palm-branches).\*

## 149. List of Provisions.

]αῖ ἡβρε ἡτοογ' ἡχογ  
 ]πογρω ἡλκ :  
 ]γ · ἡερω[4  
 χ]ογχομ[τ  
 5 ἀρ]αῖν · ἡ[  
 ]ἀ' ἀ[

"...]measure[s?] of seed-corn. 4 [....., .....] of old beans (1). 4 (?) *artabae*. 23 [.....] of lentils [ "

## 150. Account of Uncertain Character.

Three fragments (the first two continuous) from the extreme left of an account, only the beginnings of lines being preserved. In l. 1 is a heading, perhaps + ἀ[οι/. The lines all begin ἀ/ χιρ/ (= δὲλ χεῖρς); only in l. 12 is anything more preserved (ἀ' χιρ/ πατ[ερμογ<sup>ο</sup>?). Probably the names preceded by ἀ/ χιρ/ are those of agents through whom payments or deliveries were made.

## 151. Account of Uncertain Character.

This fragment contains little but a list of totals. L. 1 is apparently the end of a section of the account, but is obscure. In l. 2 is the heading λς(γος) κατὰ σελ(ίδας), i. e. "account by pages" (or perhaps, if the reference is to something contained on this potsherd, not to the pages of a book, "by columns"). In ll. 3 and 4 come the totals for pages 1 and 2, in l. 5 the grand total. A similar arrangement by σελίδες appears in B. M. 1075, p. 447, where κατὰ σελίδας seems a likelier extension than κατὰσελίδας. In the accounts in *P. Lond.* IV we find the curious form ελις (ἐλίδε?); cf. BELL's note on 1420, 146.

(1) Last season's beans. Cf. the use of ἀκ for wine.

λ λ κ/ λ[  
 + λ κατὰ σελ/ [  
 λ σελ/ φορ[/  
 β σελ/ φ[ορ/  
 5 ∅ γι/ φο[ρ/

## 154. Account of Uncertain Character.

+ COYΨIC ΠΕΠΕΙΦ ΖΑΦΟΙ  
 ΒΑΜ/ ΠΚΑΖCΙΟΟΥΤ Μ[...]  
 ΡΙΑC ΠΜΑΠΒΑΜ[ΟΥΛ  
 ΕΙ ΕΜΠΤCΡ[  
 5 ΠΒΕCΦΟ[  
 ΚΟΥΙ C[  
 Ε·[

"The 9th of Epeiph : for Phoebammon, (of) the district of Siût(1), and (?) [Asa]rias, the camelherd, . . . ."

## 155. Account of Uncertain Character.

In its present state this fragment is obscure. Perhaps indeed it is nearly complete, as  $\overline{\chi\mu\tau}$  suggests the beginning of the account, l. 8 gives a total, and of ll. 4—7 the beginnings may be preserved; but on the other hand it is possible (though less likely) that the fragment contains only the ends of lines. The occurrence of λζ(ξζ) rules out wine or other liquid substance. The figures at the beginning of the lines may be either days of the month or pages of the daybook.

$\overline{\chi\mu\tau}$   
 ]ΠΙCΤΑΩ =  
 [Α] Α. ΛΙΤ/ 5 =  
 Β Α. ΛΙΤ/ Α =  
 5 Γ Α. ΛΙΤ/ 5 | =  
 Δ Α. ΛΙΤ/ Δ | =  
 Ε Α. ΛΙΤ. Ζ =  
 ΓΓ' = ΚΗ =

2. ]ΠΙCΤΑΩ = : presumably a place-name.

5. Α/: hardly ξίξ here; perhaps the substance measured, but no likely word suggests itself.

(1) Also in 157. It may be questioned whether the prefixed ΠΚΑΖ connects this, as a place-name, with those beginning with ΤΚΑΖ (v. 37 n.).

## 156. Text of Uncertain Character.

Though quite obscure, this list seems worth including, owing to the possibility that it may mention big and little ῥργα (the measure)? But ορΓ may also be ῥργον or ῥργανον in the sense of "field"; cf. 125, 2 note. The ostrakon, though a blank space follows each line, may be incomplete on the right (or on the left).

ο̣ ΜΙΚ/  
 ορΓ ΜΕΓ/  
 ορΓ ΜΙΚ/  
 ΜΕΓ/ CK/

1. ο̣: doubtful, perhaps only s (= xxi) or possibly for ῥργ(.). It is uncertain whether this was the first line.

4. CK/: c is probable. Most likely σκευος.

## 157. List of Persons.

[.]ΙΩΝΙC ΠΜΑΝΓΑΣΕ  
 ΜΑΚΑΡΕ ΠΕΡΤΟΒ — ΙΑΚΩΒ Ι!  
 ΙΩΣΑΝΝΗC ΧΙΤC — ΒΙΚΤΩΡ ΑΒΑ ·  
 ΘΩΜΑC ΠΩΕΜΠΟΟΥΩ — ΑΠΟΥΠ ..  
 5 ΙCΑΚ ΠΕΚΞΕΛΕ — ΠΤΑΥΡΟC ΚΟΥΙ  
 ΙΩΣΑΝΝ ΠΜΑΝΞΩΚΕ — ΒΙΚΤΩΡ ΣΩΡΙΚΕΝ/  
 [Φ]ΙΒΑΜΩΝ ΠΚΞCΙΟΟΥΤ — ΣΩΡ CΙΦΕΡΕ  
 [.]ΞΗΙC ΠΑΝΙΧΙΤC — ΠΑΠΠΟΥΤΕ ΤΑΝΗΗC

A list of proper names, some of them at least followed apparently by place-names, but without an intervening genitive particle. (1) "[...] John (?) (of) Pma ngase. (2) Macarius (of) Pertob. (3) Jacob (son) of John (of) Jits. (4) Victor (of) Ab.

(1) As also in 130.

(2) Cf. Makûsah, just above Minyah. Is this the Pma nkas of P. Flor. I 70, 7.

(3) Cf. Burtubât (? Pertob hêt), opposite Sharûna. Cf. ΠΕΡΤ/ mentioned on p. 15.

(4) Cf. Nijits (possibly Panijits) below.



Thomas (of) Pshempowsh (1). Anoup (of) . . . . 5 Isaac (of) Peksele (2). Ptauros the little. John (of) Pmanhōke. Victor (son of) Origenes (3). Phoebammōn (of) Pkeh-Siūt (4). Hōr (of?) Siphre (5). John (?) (of) Panijits. Papnoute (of) Tanêne" (6).

### 158. List of Husbandmen.

+ ΠΑΟΙ' ΠΠΟΥΟΕΙ[  
 ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΠΕ[  
 ἸΩΣΑΠΠΗ[  
 ΠΑΥΛ[ΟC  
 5 ΦΟΒ[

"The list of the husbandmen [. . . .]. Theodore, the [. . . .], John [. . . .], Paul [. . . .], Phoeb[ammōn]."

### 159. List of Persons.

This list of names is so imperfect as to be hardly worth publishing, but it is given because of its (apparently) miscellaneous character, including as it does a nun, perhaps a monk, a νομικός, and someone described as χύριος.

]Φ s ΚΥΡ/ Κ[  
 ].Τ ΜΟΝΑΧ[  
 ]C ΠΟΜΚ/ Α[ΠΟ?  
 ]i s ΟΠΠΩΦ/ Α[ΠΟ?  
 5 ]. ΜΟΝΑΧΗ [  
 ] Ε[Π]ΙΜΑΧ Α[ΠΟ?

(1) Perhaps contains the name Būsh. Cf. Qombūsh, SW. of Beni Suef, and Būsh N. of it. More suitable perhaps is Munyah (or Meit) Būsh, near Ashmunain (AMÉLINEAU. *Géogr.* 365). On the other hand it may = Pshenpous of Ryl. 181.

(2) The use of Ξ might indicate a Greek name deformed.

(3) It may be noted that the large fresco (Cosmas and Damianus, *Journ. Eg. Arch.* III, 35) commemorates a Hourkene.

(4) Cf. 154. (5) Cf. ? Σεῦρις P. Oxy. 1141.

(6) Tanna'nah, near Abutig, seems unlikely.

1. Perhaps deleted by a line drawn through it; but this is doubtful.

6. Ε[Π]ΙΜΑΧ: very doubtful.

### 160. List of Names.

Two fragments. The purpose of this list, as of the preceding, is uncertain. Most of the persons mentioned are apparently clerics; perhaps therefore the list is intended for commemoration or invocation.

+ ΑΠΑ  
 ΕΞΩΡ Π'Α'ΗCΘ  
 ΑΠΑ ΜΑΚΑΡΕ  
 ΑΠΑ ΙΩΣΑΝΝΗC  
 ΑΠΑ ΚΑΣΤΩΡ  
 ΑΠΑ ΖΗΡΑΚΛΕΩΠ  
 ΑΠΑ ΙΑΚΩΒ  
 ΝΕΠ.[  
 Π[

1 f. ΑΠΑ ΕΞΩΡ: ΕΞΩΡ is doubtful, and seems, in any case, an unlikely name, but ΖΩΡ is not possible. There has very possibly been an alteration, and perhaps only one letter (z) is to be read before ΩΡ.

5. Castor is a rare name. Perhaps reminiscent of an obscure saint of this neighbourhood, martyred at Bardanūhah and named sometimes in the litany (v. the Cairo *Absaliyat* 1629 (1913), p. φ113; cf. also Abū Sālih f. 74 a, reading Kasṭur).

8. ΝΕΠ[: here again there may have been an alteration; a character seems to be written above the second η. Probably the word is a Coptic plural possessive, ΝΕΠ[.

## Contracts.

## 161. Contract for Work.

<sup>+</sup>  
 + ΔΜΗΝΑ 2[ΜΠΠ]Α <sup>+</sup>ΜΠΠΟΥΤΕ ΠΑΡΜΑ[ΠΑΡ/]  
 ΠC2ΑΙ ΠΑΠ[Α Π]ΛΥΛΟΣ Π2ΑΜΨΕ [ΧΕΤΙ]  
 ΕΠΙΤΡΕΠΕ ΠΑΚ ΕΤΡΕΚΡ 2ΑΜΨΕ ΕΤ[...]  
 [2ΠΤΡΟ]ΜΠΕ ΤΑΙ ΤΩΔΕΚΤ/ ΠΑΛ/  
 ΜΠΜΟΠΑΣ/ ΠΓΕΡ ΠΕΚ2Ω4 ΧΩΡΙC ΚΑΤΑ  
 5 ΦΡΟΝΕΙ 2ΠΑΔΔΥ Π2Ω4 ΤΙΤΙ ΠΕΚΒΕ  
 ΚΕ ΠΑΚ ΕΤΕΠΑΠΕ ΧΟΥΤΗ ΠΕΡΤΟ4 Π  
 C[ΟΥΟ] ΜΠΜΠΤCΠΟΟΥCΕ ΠΑΔ2Η ΠΗΡΠ ΜΠ  
 .... ΠC]ΙΜ ΜΠΓΤΟΟΥ ΠΕΡΤΟ4 Π  
 ΙΩΤ [ΜΠC]ΠΔΥ ΠΚΑΔΟΥC ΠΗΡΠ ΚΑ  
 ΜΠΟΥ6ΟΟΥΠΕ ΜΠΟΥΤ  
 10 ΤΑ ΜΑ ΠΧΩΩΛΕ ΜΠΟΥΛΩΒΙΤΩΠ  
 ΜΠΟΥCΑΠΤΑΛΕ ΕΠΕΚΩΡΧ ΟΥΠ ΔΙC  
 ΜΠ ΠΙCΥΜΦΩΠΟΠ ΠΑΚ ΕΙCΤΟΙ<sup>x</sup>  
 ΕΡΟ4 Μ 0ω: 22/ 2°: 12 +

Contract for work and wages between a monastery and a carpenter.

“Daniel (1) it is, by God’s mercy archima[ndrite], (2) writes to Apa Paul, the carpenter, (saying,) [I] appoint thee to do carpenter’s work for [ . . . . ] of the monastery, in this year of the 12th Indiction (3); and that you do your work without  
 5 neglect in anything. And [I undertake] that we will pay your wages, namely 25 *artabae* of corn and 12 *lahē* of wine (4) and [ . . . . of] fodder (?) and 4 *artabae* of barley [and] 2 jars of

(1) This Daniel recurs in 87 and 175.

(2) Contracts (likewise called *σύμφωνον*) with carpenters: BM. 1064, 1065, KRALL CLIV.

(3) This phrase inserted afterwards.

(4) Cf. 164.

wine 10, according to the vintage (1), and a cloak (2) and a sackcloth (garment) and a [. . . .] and a (pair of) sandals. For your assurance, then, I have drawn up this agreement for you and I consent thereto. Thoth 26th, 12th Indiction."

### 162. Contract for Service.

xincō] ymhtcawbe ne  
 nepnp  
 [wascōym] ntscawbe ntke  
 ] eawcawne epooγ  
 ] xe n̄cawtm̄ n̄cawī  
 axnpka] tafponncic  
 ] ntecpompe etenāine  
 ] n̄cawh mhte mmaaxxe  
 ] mntoye n̄otc nhrp  
 ] smnt̄c n̄mmaq  
 ] ina/ x gewrge

From a contract with a servant or workman (3).

"... from the] 17th of E[pêp till the 17th of Epêp of the next [year . . . .] be able to add to (?) them (4) [ . . . .] he obey me [without] neglect [ . . . .] of his year, namely [ . . . .] henceforth, 10 *maaje* [of . . . . and] 11 *hots* of wine, [according as I] arranged it with him. [ . . . .] Indiction. George (5) [, I consent].

(1) Or? the vineyard. I do not find **MA NX** elsewhere.

(2) For the form ΛΩΒΕΙΤΩΝ cf. TURAEF, *Materiale*, no. 4, ΛΟΥΒΙΤΟΥ. With the latter ending (-Ω) it is fem. in MINGARELLI 338, GIRON, *Légendes* 64, *Mus. Guim.* XXV, 418 and KIRCHER 120; but masc. in CSCO. 41, 49. Also fem. with ending -ΩΝ, BUDGE, *Misc.* 491, BUDGE, *Apocr.* 125; and fem. as ΛΟΒΗΤΕ, BUDGE, *Mart.* 217, which = ΛΕΒΙΤΟΝ masc. in *Rec.* VI 183; cf. ΛΑΒΙΤΕ LEPSIUS, *Denkm.* VI, 102, 21. Perhaps joined here with sackcloth (as BUDGE, *Mart.* 161) shows the carpenter to be a monk.

(3) Similar documents: Ryl. 140—143.

(4) CA2NE in Exod. XIX, 4, 15 means "approach". But is this the same word? A survival perhaps of the demotic use, "dispose of"?

(5) A fresh hand here.

## 163. Contract for Work.

+ ΠΣΥΜΦΩΝΟΝ [  
 ΜΟΧ ΠΤΙΡΟΜΠ[Ε  
 ΝΑΚ ΖΑΠΕΚΒ[ΕΚΕ  
 ΧΟΥΤΑΥΤΕ ΠΡ[ΤΟΥ  
 5 ΠΕΙΩΤ ΜΠΟ[Υ  
 ΟΥΡΤΟΥ ΠΒΗ[ΗΝΕ  
 ΜΠΜΠΤΑΥ[ΤΕ Π

From a contract for work.

"The agreement [. . . .] this year [. . . give] you as your wage [. . . .] 24 *ar[tabae]* of corn and [. . . .] |s| of barley and a [. . . . and] an *artaba* of dates and 14 [.

## 164. Contract for Work.

Ρ ΠΑΙΚΑΙΟΝ ΜΠΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΤΟΥΑ[ΑΒ ΠΑΠΑ]  
 ΘΩΜΑΣ ΖΙΤΤΙ ΠΜΑΪΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕΙΩΤ ΑΠΑ Ε[ ΠΕ]  
 ΠΡ/ ΕΥΕΣΑΪ ΜΨΥΝΖΩΡ ΠΣΑΝΖΜΟΥ ΧΕΛΛ[ΑΥ ΠΕ]  
 ΧΟΥΤ ΕΥΑΛΛ ΕΥΕΗΝΕ ΠΩΟΜΤΕ ΠΒΑΪΚ[  
 5 ΜΛΖ ΜΜΗΝΕ ΕΝΑ- ΠΕΥΕΚΕ ΠΛΥ [ΕΤΕΠΑΙ]  
 ΠΕ ΚΑΤΑ Ε[ΧΟΥΤ ΩΟΜΠΤ ΠΕΡΟΥ Π[ ΜΑ]  
 ΑΧΕ ΠΣΙΜ ΟΥΛΑΚΟΟΤΕ ΠΠΗΡΠ Ω[  
 ΠΤΕΠΤΜΜΟΟΥ ΠΛΥ ΟΥΜΑΑ[ΧΕ  
 ΣΠΛΟΥΝ ΠΧΙΡ ΟΥΛΕΒΙΤΟΥ .[  
 10 ΜΠΕΛΜΑ ΠΟΥΩΤ ΠΤΟΚ ΖΩΩΚ ΟΠ ΠΓ  
 Ρ ΠΕΚΖΩΒ ΠΑΤΛΑΑΥΕ ΠΚΑΤΑΦΡΟΜΙΣΙC  
 ΠΤΕΡΟΜΠΕ ΤΗΡC (*erasure*) ΛΠΟΝ ΖΩΩΠ ΠΤΠ  
 ΤΙ ΠΕΚΒΕΚΕ ΠΑΚ + ΕΓΡΑΦΗ ΜΕΝΟΣ ΠΛΥΠΠ  
 ΚΕ ΓΙ/ Π Λ/ +

Contract for work and wages, between a monastery and a salt-dealer (1).

(1) Salt may have been for use in preserving corpses. Burials of the Christian period show large quantities of it. Or for pickling fish etc., as in KRALL CCXLIII, 14.



"The council of the holy monastery [of Apa] Thomas (1), through the pious father, Apa E[ (2) ], the agent (3), writes to Psynhôr (4), the salt-dealer, (5) (saying,) [Every] month which he passes bringing 3 . . . . (6) [of . . .] (7) [5] daily, we will pay him his wage, [name]ly, each month, 3 *artabae* of [ *ma*] *aje* of fodder, a *lakoote* (8) of wine [ ] we will feed him therewith, a *maa*[ *je* ] . . . . (9) of pickle, a cloak [ ] [10] a single (shoe) sole (10). You (11) too, for your part, shall do your work without any neglect, throughout the year; and we, for ours, will pay you your wage. Written month Payni 25th. (Wages) making 1 *solidus*."

### 165. Contract for Cultivation (?).

]C2AĪ MΠΩHP  
]ME XENENŌ  
]NTATO NĪΩ2E  
]TOΩOY EXΩĪ MΠ-  
5 ]AQTĪ TEQTŌ E  
[T]QTŌ PĒNNE  
]INOC

(1) V. Introduction.

(2) One is tempted to read Enoch.

(3) Reading *προνητής*, V. 344 n. (4) Recurs Ryl. 232.

(5) A salt-dealer so named at Baouit (II, p. 100). Cf. QUIBELL-THOMPSON, *Saqqara*, no. 89; also *ντροπωλής* *Ann. du Serv.* 1909, 281.

(6) If *ΒΑΙΚΑ2*, cf. BM. 449, 450, where it might mean a certain portion of land. But in a Balaiza fragt. (Bodl. copt. e. 54) *ΟΥΒΑΙΚΑ2* is in a list of articles. In BM. 450 it is fem., as here.

(7) *ΩΤΕΜΕΛ2* recurs in 92, carried in baskets. Clearly something in which salt is an element. Perhaps nitrate manure (*sabakh*); cf. *ΜΛ2* in *CSCO*. 73, 186 (*i. e.* Jer. XVII 6).

(8) A common wine measure in middle Egypt; cf. BM. 1064, *Baouit* I, 8 etc. It = *χνίδιον*, on which v. BELL in P. Lond. IV 1375. KRALL, CCXXXIV shows that *ΛΑ2Η* also = *χνίδιον*. From 161 it appears however that *ΛΑ2Η* is a smaller measure. (9) Cf. 123 n.

(10) Presumably designating the quality of shoe to be provided. Cf. 161, where the parallel word is *συνδάλιον*.

(11) Though now in the 2d pers., we must suppose the same workman addressed as in the 3d pers. hitherto.

Contract, perhaps regarding land cultivation.

"... we] write to the son [of .....] (saying,) we are [ready (?) to .....] my portion of field [..... shall] appoint for me, with [.....] |s| has given (or sold) his portion for (?) the 4 (1) palm-trees [

### 166. Promise of Repayment.

Papyrus.

+ ΑΠΟΚ ΠΑΣΟΝ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΕ  
ΦΑΜΨΕ ΠΤΡΕΤΡΑ ΕΤΟΥ  
ΛΛΒ ..... ΤΠΟ  
ΛΙC .... [ΕΙC2ΔΙ] ΠΠΑΣΟΝ  
5 ΠΑΙΑΚ ..... ΠΜΟΝΟΧΟC  
ΜΠΙΜΟΝ[ΑΣΤ/] ΠΟΥΩΤ ΖΜΠΙΤΩ  
ΠΟΥΩΤ ΧΕΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΑΠΑΡΑΚΑ  
ΛΕΙ ΜΜΟΚ ΑΚΑΙΤΕΙ ΠΟΥΖΟΛΟΚΤ/  
ΕΠ. ΕΙΧΡΙΑ ΜΗΤΑΛΛΑΓΚΗ  
10 ΧΕΧΙΝΠΟΥ Ν20ΟΥ ΕΤΕCΟΥ  
ΜΠΤΩΜΗΝΠΕ ΠΤΩΒΕ ΝΤΙ  
ΡΟΜΠΕ ΤΑΙ ΤΕΚΑΤΗC ΠΛΑ°/  
ΨΑCΟΥΜΠΤΩΜΗΝ ΜΠΑΡ  
ΜΟΥΤΕ ΠΤΙΡΟΜΠΕ ΠΟΥΩΤ ΤΗC  
15 ΑΥΤΗC ΠΛΑ°/ ΕΤΡΑΤΙ ΠΑΚ 2Α  
ΤΕCΜΟΤΗΕC ΠΟΥΖΟΤC Ν2Α  
ΛΩΜ ΠΑΙ ΟΥΗ ΖΜΠΟΥΩΨ Π  
[ΠΠΟΥΤΕ

Undertaking to repay a money loan in cheese. Text effaced and very illegible.

"I, brother (2) Germanus, the carpenter of the Holy Rock (πέτρα) ..... the city ... ., (3) [I write] to brother |s| the deacon ....., the monk of this same monastery, in this same

(1) Perhaps nothing lost before ЧТО.

(2) *Lit.* "my brother", as in l. 4.

(3) One expects either "the Rock of Apa Thomas (for which there is space), of the city Siut" (not space for a longer name); or "in the nome of the city S.". Our 375 makes "the Rock of Sbeht" not impossible.

nome, (saying,) When I entreated you, you asked (1) a *solidus* . . . . need (2) and my necessity, [10] namely (?) from today, which is the 18th day of Tôbe of this year of the 10th Indiction, until the 18th day of Parmoute of this same year of the 15 same Indiction, (I said?) that I would give you for its satisfaction (3) a . . . . (4) of cheese. These (things), then, by the will of [God . . .

### Orders for Payment.

(Cf. also several of the Letters, 86, 87, 89, 90, 91, which might be classed here.)

167.

P TAA C  
 ΠΑΠΑ ΜΙΝΑ  
 ΖΙΤΤΙΑΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ  
 ΑΡΙ ΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΠΓ-  
 ΤΙ ΜΗΤCΠΟΟΥCΕ  
 ΠΚΟΥΙ ΠΛΑΖΗ ΠΗΡΠ ΜΠ-  
 ΩΜΟΥΝΕ ΜΦΟΡΗC ΠΑΠΟΥΠ  
 ΠΜΑΠCΑΜΟΥΛ ΑΥΩ ΤΙ ΚΕ-  
 CΠΤΕ ΠΚΟΥΙ ΠΛΑΖΗ ΠΗΡΠ ΠΑΠΑ  
 10 ΑΓΕΝΕ ΠΟΥΛΙΩ + ΓΙ/ ΟΙ/ ΜΙΚ/ ΙΑ  
 [ . . ] ΜΕΓ/ Η + ΧΕΝΕΚΑΜΦΙΒΛΛΕ  
 [ΛΙΖΥΠΟΓΡ]ΑΦΗ ΠΤΑΒΙΧ + εγραφ/  
 [+ ΕΝΩΧ CΤΟΙ]Χ +

"Give it to Apa Mina (Mêna), from Apa Enoch. Be so kind and 15 give (5) 12 small *lahé* of wine and 8 *phores* to

(1) A reading difficult to justify or understand, but the usual ΑΚΤΙ (or †) ΝΑΙ, "you gave to me", cannot be read.

(2) "My need", the usual phrase, cannot be read.

(3) Only in a Balaiza fragt. (an ἀσφαλὶς) does ΜΟΤΝΕC thus occur: ]ΜΕΤ ΝΩΛΟΚΟΤΤΗ ΠΟΥC ΖΑΤΕΥΜΟΤΙΝΗC[. Elsewhere its Greek equivalent is ἀνάγκη.

(4) ΖΟΤC measures cheese in 198.

(5) The equations *phores* = μεγάλη, small *lahé* = μικρά, are confirmed by 168, 171. Comparing 170 with these shows *lahé* to = small *lahé*. Similarly in THOMPSON'S *Saqqara* no. 226.

Anoup, the camelherd; and give other 2 small *lahé* of wine to Apa |<sub>10</sub>| Agene (1), the head husbandman (2).

Makes (total); wine, small 11 (*sic*), large 8.

Lest you should be contentious, [I have sub]scribed with my hand. Written (3) [. . . . Enoch, I consen]t."

## 168.

Ϙ ΤΑΛΣ ΠΑΠΑ ΜΗΘ  
 ΖΗΤΠΑΠΑ ΕΠΩΧ ΑΡΙ  
 ΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΠΓΤΙ ΧΟΥΩΤ  
 ΠΚΟΥΙ ΠΑΛΛΗ ΠΠΗΡΠ  
 5 ΠΕΙΡΗΠΗ ΤΜΟΝΑΧΗ +  
 ΕΓΡΑΦΗ ΜΕΣΟΡΗ Κ +  
 ΓΙ/ ΟΙ/ ΜΙΚ/ Κ + ΧΕΠΕΚ  
 ΑΜΦΙΒΑΛΕ ΛΙΓΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΗ  
 ΠΤΑΕΙΧ +  
 10 + ΕΠΩΧ ΣΤΟΙΧ/  
 + ΛΣΜΘ ΦΟΙΒΑΜΜΩΝ  
 ΕΓΡ/ +

"Give it to Apa Mine (Mêna), from Apa Enoch. Be so kind and give 20 small *lahé* of wine to Irene, the nun. Written 20th Mesore.

Makes (total), wine, small 20.

Lest you should be contentious, I have subscribed with my hand. Enoch, I consent. Written by me, Phoebammôn" (4).

(1) An alternative to the etymology suggested Ryl. 173 is ἀγένης, perhaps originally the epithet of some saint, presumably the martyr of Tehne (cf. 179).

(2) Properly "the big husbandman", if final ω has its usual meaning.

(3) In an unskilled hand.

(4) Scribe of 169, 172.

## 169.

+ ΤΑΑΣ  
 ΠΑΠΑ  
 ΜΙΝΕ ΖΙΤΤΙ  
 ΕΝΩΧ ΠΕϢ  
 5 ΕΙΩΤ ΑΡΙ ΤΑ  
 ΓΑΠΗ ΠΓΤΙ ΜΠ  
 ΤΟΥΕ ΠΚΟΥΪ ΠΛΑΣΗ  
 ΠΠΗΡΠ ΠΑΠΑ ΠΕΤΡΕ  
 [...]ΠΑΡΓΑΜΟΣ ΤΑΡΕϢ  
 10 [ΧΙΤΟΥ]ΕΠΜΑ ΠΑΠΑ ΜΑΚ  
 ΑΡ[Ε + ΓΙ] ΟΙ/ ΜΙΚ/ ΪΑ + ΧΕ  
 ΠΕΚΑ[ΜΦΙΒ]ΛΛΕ ΑΪΣΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΗ  
 ΠΤΑΔΙΧ + ΕΓΓΡΑΦΗ ΜΕΣΟΡΗ Κ  
 + ΕΝΩΧ ΣΤΟΙ<sup>χ</sup>  
 15 + δι/ εμῶ φοιβαμμων  
 εγρα

"Give it to Apa Mine (Mêna), from Enoch his <sup>s</sup> father.  
 Be so kind and give 11 small *lahé* of wine to Apa Peter [son  
 of?] Pargamos (1), that he may [<sup>10</sup> take them?] to the dwelling  
 of Apa Macarius.

Makes (total), wine, small 11.

Lest you should [be] contentious, I have subscribed with  
 my hand.

Written 20th Mesore. Enoch, I consent (2).

Written by me, Phoebammôn" (3).

(1) Recurs BM. 1166. ? Περγάμιος.

(2) An unskilled hand.

(3) Scribe of 168, 172.



## 170.

+ ΤΑΛΣ ΠΑΠΑ ΜΙΝΕ  
 ΖΙΤΤΙΕΝΩΧ ΠΕΧΕΙΩΤ  
 ΑΡΙ ΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΠΓΤΙ  
 ΜΝΤΑΣΕ ΠΛΑΖΗ Π-  
 5 ΠΗΡΠ ΠΑΠΑ ΠΩΛΑ  
 ΠΥΧΙΤΟΥ ΠΜΜΟΠΑ-  
 ΧΗ ΠΛΑΒΟΥΖΟΤ +  
 ΓΙ/ ΟΙ/ ΜΙΚ/ ΪΣ [+]. ΕΓΡΑΦΗ  
 ΘΩΘ Α ΠΔ.°/ ΤΡΙΤΗΣ  
 + ΕΠΩΧ ΣΤ  
 [Ο]ΙΧ/

"Give it to Apa Mine (Mêna), from Enoch, his father.  
 Be so kind and give 16 *lahé* <sup>15</sup> of wine to Apa Pgôl and let  
 him take them to the nuns of Labôuhot (1).

Makes (total), wine, small 16.

Written 1st Thoth, 3rd Indiction.

Enoch (2), I consent."

## 171.

+ ΤΑΛΣ ΠΑΠΑ Μ[Π]Ε + ΖΙΤΝΑΠΑ  
 ΕΠΩΧ ΠΕΧΕΙΩΤ ΑΡΙ ΤΑΓΑΠΗ  
 ΠΓΤΙ ΦΟΜΤΕ ΝΦΟΡΗΣ ΠΠΗΡΠ  
 ΜΠΜΠΤΗ ΠΚΟΥΪ ΠΛΑΖΗ ΠΠΗΡΠ  
 5 ΜΠΑΣΟΠ ΪΩΖΑΠΠΗΣ ΠΖΑΜΑΚΗ  
 ΓΙ/ ΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ/ Γ ΜΙΚ/ ΪΕ + ΕΓΡΑΦΗ  
 ΘΩΘ Α ΠΔ.°/ ΤΡΙΤΗΣ +  
 + ΕΠΩΧ ΣΤΟΙΧ/  
 + ⲅ/ ⲉⲙⲟ ⲉⲣⲓⲃⲁⲙⲙⲱⲛⲟⲥ γⲣⲁ/

(1) Perhaps cf. ΠΡΜΠΛΛΑΒΩΘΖΑΤ, P. Alexandr., *Sphinx* X 2, where the reading differs from *minc*. KREMER, *Ägypten* II 108, gives El-Lewahet as a *markaz* of Siut; but I cannot find it. A village near Siût is now named Nag' Labu.

(2) An unskilled hand.

"Give it to Apa Mine (Mêna), from Apa Enoch, his father. Be so kind and give 3 *phores* of wine and 15 small *lahé* of wine [5] to my brother John, the . . . . smith (1).

Makes (total), wine, large 3, small 15.

Written 1st Thoth, 3rd Indiction.

Enoch (2), I consent.

Written by me, Phoebammôn" (3).

## 172.

P ΤΑΑΣ ΠΑΠΑ ΜΙΝΕ ΖΙΤΤΙ  
ΑΠΑ ΕΠΩΧ ΑΡΙ ΤΑΓΑΠΗ  
ΕΡΩΑΠ ΓΕΩΡΓΕ ΠΜΑΠΕΛΑΜ[ΟΥΛ Π]  
ΠΑΤΙΝΕ ΕΙ ΠΑΚ † ΩΜ[ΟΥΠΕ]  
5 ΠΦΟΡΗΣ ΠΠΗΡΠ ΜΠ[ΜΠΤΣΠΟΥΥ]  
[C]Ε ΠΚΟΥΪ Π[ΛΑΖΗ  
]ΠΛΥ [

"Give it to Apa Mine (Mêna), from Apa Enoch. Be so kind, when George, the camelherd [of?] Patine (4), comes to you, give 8 *phores* of wine and [12] small [*lahé* of wine?] to him [

## 173.

+ ΕΠΩΧ [  
ΜΠΑΣΟΠ ΘΩΜ[ΑΣ  
ΧΕΑΡΙ ΦΩΒ ΠΓΤΙ [ΟΥ]  
ΦΟΡΟΣ ΠΠΗΡΠ ΜΠΟΛΛ  
5 ΖΗ ΜΠΣΑΖ ΠΕ[  
[.]ΩΖΕΙ + ΥΪ ΟΙ/ ΦΟΡ/ Α ΥΔ/ Α Μ ΘΩΘ Α<sup>η</sup>  
]ΥΔ/ ΥΒ ΑΡ/ +  
+ ΕΠΩΧ  
CT]ΟΙΧ/

(1) The same word is probably written (or printed) ΖΑΠΑΚΕ, *Baouit* II, p. 130. If ΑΚΗ = ΑΚΕC, which sometimes = ἀκίς, we may have here an iron tool maker; cf. ΖΑΜΚΑΛΛΕ, ΖΑΜΩΕ. The word in this sense, *Berlin. Kopt. Urk.* no. 26<sup>3</sup>, 38 ΕΚΗΣ, *Triadon* 592 ΑΚΕC (اسافيط quid?), PEYRON 249 b. ΑΚΕC, P. Lond. IV, 1631, col. 2, 10, ΑΚΕΙC. (2) Unskilled hand.

(3) Scribe of 168 etc. (4) Or (omitting prefixed Π-) "of Time". Neither word appears elsewhere as a place name, unless perhaps in 30.

"Enoch [it is writes] to my brother Thomas (1), (saying,) Be so obliging (2) and give [a] *phoros* of wine and a *lahê* to master Pe[. . . .] (3)

Makes, wine, 1 *phoros*.

1st Indiction, month Thoth 1, [. . . .] 12th Indiction, beginning (4).

Enoch (5), I consent."

## 174.

This papyrus, bought by Dr. F. W. Kelsey in 1920, is assumed, on internal evidence, to be from Wadi Sarga; though the author, Cyrus, is not a person met with in other of our documents (unless perhaps in 188).

+ ΠΕΡΙΩΤ ΠΕΤΣΑΙ ΠΩΗΡΕ  
 ΠΕΣΠΗΥ ΠΠΑ<sup>Λ</sup> ΧΕΕΙΣ ᾗΤΟ ΠΕΟ  
 ΟΥΗΕ ΠΤΕ Π[. . .] ΨΔΞ ΕΘΟΥΗΕ  
 ΑΥΕΙ ΤΟΟΤ ΣΑΠΕΒΑ<sup>Λ</sup> ΛΟΠΟΠ  
 5 ΤΙ ΠΕΒΕΠΤΑΓ<sup>Π</sup> ΠΑ<sup>Υ</sup> ΑΥΩ ΕΩ  
 ΣΙΧΩΟΥ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΠΣΟΥΣ<sup>Π</sup>ΠΤΟΥ  
 ΠΡΟΣ ᾗΤΟ ΠΕΘΟΥΗΕ ΣΑΤΠΑΩΕ  
 ΠΣΟΛΟΚ/ μ. φαφ ἱη ἰδ/ ἱα + γεωργι/  
 + ΚΗΡΙ

"Our father (6) it is writes (to) his sons, the brethren, regarding (?) the poll-tax (7), (saying,) Lo, (here are) 4 sacks

(1) Perhaps the *διοικητής* of 375.

(2) This phrase is used in 119. Cf Ryl. 360 n.

(3) The 1st word in l. 6 is presumably a place name. Perhaps no gap before Ω.

(4) ἀρχῆ.

(5) Unskilled hand.

(6) Thus the writer styles himself in 175. He is presumably the abbot. Cf. 83.

(7) On ἀνδρισμός v. P. Lond. IV 1338, Introd. and here 248. The Π- here prefixed is not clear in meaning, but can hardly be a simple genitive.

of [. . . .] the sack-weaver (?) (1); they have been received by me in respect of his poll-tax. So <sup>15</sup> give him his receipt and see to them (2) all and let them be made at the rate of (3) 4 sacks to the half *solidus*. Month Phaophi 18, Indiction 11. George. Cyrus" (4).

## 175.

Papyrus.

+ ΠΕΠΕΙΩ[Τ ΠΕΤΣ2ΛΙ  
ΠΑΤΔΙΑ[ΚΟΠΙΑ  
ΠΗΡΠ ΠΩ[  
γ' / <sup>υ</sup>ο'ν χδ' / α μ'  
5 + ΔΛΗΝΗΛ ΣΤΟΙΧ/[

Probably an order to supply wine. The writer, presumably Daniel the archimandrite (5), who in his own hand signs below, calls himself "our father", just as a monk refers to himself as "I, my brother So-and-so". He addresses the brother (in charge) of the *διακονία*. (6)

## 176.

Papyrus.

Μ . . . . [  
ΠΑΡΩΠ ΒΡΡΕ + [  
<sup>η</sup>  
εγ' / μ θωθ ι = ζ ινδ =  
+ ΕΠΩΧ ΣΤ[ΟΙΧ/]

(1) Cf. CRUM, *Coptic Manuscr.* no. XXII. This meaning involves however CA2Γ- for CA2- (the Γ absorbed by following σ).

(2) σΩ 2ΙΧΝ- as in BUDGE, *Misc.* 224, Ryl. 323, *Miss.* IV 534.

(3) *I. e.* let those made be at the rate of . . .

(4) In a different, clumsy hand, doubtless the author's, while George is scribe.

(5) Cf. 161.

(6) As in *Sagqara* no. 314. The use in *CSCO* 73, 44, 45, 98, etc. indicates the place, not those on duty there.

An order to supply "fresh lentils", or a receipt on their delivery. Enoch, doubtless the oft recurring steward, signs in his own, clumsy hand, as in 167 ff., 182 etc.

## 177.

+ ΤΙ ΨΟΜΤΕ ΠΖΟΤ̄ ΝΕΤ̄  
 ΠΤΕ ΠΜΑ ΜΠΟΥΛΙ ΛΥΩ ΕΜ  
 ΠΕΚΩΝΕ ΠΤΕ ΠΜΑ ΜΠΟΥ<sup>ΛΙ</sup>  
 ΤΑΛΥ ΠΑΥ ΠΤΕ ΤΑΚΟΥΤ<sup>ΗC</sup>  
 5 ΤΑΛC ΠΑΠΑ ΖΩΡ  
 ΖΙΤΠΠΑΠΠΟΥΤΕ  
 ΠΕΚΟΝΟΜ/

"Give 3 *hots*(1) of . . . . of Pmampouli (2); and if you do not find (any) of Pmampouli, give them (some) of Takoutês (3). Give it to Apa Hôr, from Parnoute, the steward."

## 178.

+ ΤΙ ΨΟΜΤΕ ΜΦΟΡΗΣ ΠΗΡΠ  
 ΠΤΕ ΠΩΜ · ΜΠΡΗΣ ΠΑΤ  
 CΕΚΩΤ ΤΑΛC ΠΑΠΑ ΖΩΡ  
 ΖΙΤΠΠΑΥΠΟΥΤΕ ΠΟΙΚΟΝΟ  
 ΜΟΥC +

"Give 3 *phoros* of wine of the southern vineyard to (?) the potters. (4) Give it to Apa Hôr, from Parnoute, the steward."

(1) Cf. 186 n. We must presumably read ΠΝΕΤ-. After 2 perhaps one or two letters. But we remain in doubt as to the material in question.

(2) Perhaps the place in 303. A village Mimbâl, near Samalût, is a possible equivalent. (3) V. 213 n.

(4) CΕΚΩΤ, *lit.* "potter's place", his oven, or workshop, BM. 695, CO. 306, Is. XXX 14 (κεραμίου); its plur. Π CΚΩΤΕ, CΕΚΑΤΕ perhaps in 377 here and (as place name) P. Lond. IV, p. XLVIII. The potter is ΠΑΤCΕΚΩΤ, WESSELY, *Stud.* IX, 145; its plur. ΜΠΑΤCΕΚΩΤ, ZOEGA 505. In our text perhaps read ΠΠΑΤ-, a better plur. than the preceding. It may be added that KRALL CLXXXII, CCXXIII has another, presumably related word CΚΟΤ for potter (CΕΚΩΤ in P. Lond. V 1674 vo.).



179.

+ ΤΙ ΣΗΤΕ  
 Η2ΟΤΣ ΠΗ  
 ΡΠ ΗΑΠΑ  
 ΣΕΡΗΕ  
 5 ΑΠΑ 2ΩΡ  
 ΠΑΠΟ

"Give 2 *hots* of wine to Apa Serne (1). (From) Apa Hôr, the . . . . ."

180.

+ ΤΙ ΜΗΤΣΝΟΟ[ΥC  
 ΠΑΠΚΡΑΤΩ[  
 ΙΩ2ΑΗΗΗ[C  
 2ΥΤΙΑΠ[Α

"Give 12 [. . . . .] of unmixed (2) (wine) [to Apa] John [. . . .], from Apa["

181.

Ρ ΤΑΑΣ ΠΑΠΑ ΜΗΠΑ  
 2ΙΓΗΜΑΠΑ ΠΑΠΠΟΥΤΣ  
 ΠΗΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ ΑΡΙ  
 ΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΕΡΩΔΗ  
 5 ΠΑΠΑ ΙΩ2ΑΗΗC  
 Ι ΠΑΚ + ΟΥΧΙ

(1) Found thus BM. 688, *Baouit* I 113, P. Lond. V, 1748, AMÉLINEAU, *Géog.* 12 n. (= "Aba Sirne"). Doubtless = Serenus, a name peculiar, in Christian times, to Middle Egypt and reminiscent perhaps of the martyr named with Isaac of Tiphre (*TSBA.* IX 101; cf. *Archiv* II 318, *BGU.* III 954), and a native of Tehneh (Hall, p. 132, the only Coptic mention so far of this place, = either El-Hibeh or Akoris; cf. SPIEGELBERG, *Äg. Zeitschr.* LIII 1, 2). He is invoked on an Oxyrhynchite amulet (P. Oxyrh. 1151).

(2) *Ἀζατος* is variously deformed in Coptic: ΑΚΡΑΤΩΡ (to which the Virgin's breasts are compared) Bodl. g 1; ΑΙΚΡΑΤΩΡ Cairo medical pap., ed. CHASSINAT, l. 388; ΑΓΚΡΑΤΩΡ BUDGE *Misc.* 10, *Apoc.* 46, TURAIÉF *Mater.* no. 9; ΑΙΚΡΑΤΟΗ *Comptes Rend.* 1887, 376, and ΑΚΡΑΤΗΗ in 110 here.

verso

ΠΗ2 ΝΗΠΟΥΚΟΥΪ  
 ΠΑ4 ΟΥΧΑΪ ΖΗΠΧΟ  
 ΕΙC

From Papnoute, writer of 98, 177, 178 and probably of 114, and recipient of 95, 97 and perhaps 92, 186, 187.

"Give it to Apa Mēna, from Apa Papnoute, the steward. Be so kind, when Papa John comes to you, give (him) a can (1) [of] oil and a little meat. Farewell in the Lord."

## 182.

+ ΕΠΩΧ ΠΕ4C2ΑΪ ΠΠΑ  
 CΟΠ ΓΕΩΡΓΕ ΧCΤΙ  
 ΜΗΤ ΠΡΤΟ4 Π2ΟCΜ  
 ΠΑΜΑ ΜΑΡΘΑ + εγρ/  
 5 φαρμ<sup>ο</sup> ια ινδ ιβ/ +  
 + ΕΠΩΧ CΤΟΙΧ/

"Enoch it is writes to my brother George, (saying,) Give 10 *artabae* of nitre to Ama (2) Martha.

Written 11th Phamenoth, 12th Indiction.

Enoch, I consent (3)."

## 183.

+ ΤΑΛC ΜΠΑCΟΠ[  
 2ΓΓΙ ΕΠΩΧ ΠΕ4[ΙΩΤ  
 ΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΠΓΤΙ [  
 [ΡΤ]Ο4 ΠΒΗΠC Π[  
 5 ].. ΕΠΜ[

"Give it to my brother [. . . .], from Enoch, his [father. Be so] kind and give [. . . .] *artabae* of dates to [ "

(1) ΧΙ is the name of a bronze vessel (?) in a Theban text HALL, *Klio* XIII, 173 = CRUM, *ST.* 439.

(2) Not necessarily a nun; sometimes a mere courtesy, e. g. Leontius Neap., Gelzer 22, also PEET, *Cemet. Abydos* III, 39.

(3) The same unskilled hand as in 167 etc.

184.

+

Ϡ СТЕΦΑΝΕ

ΠΕΥΣΑΙ Ν

ΠΑΣΟΝ ΪΩΣΗΦ

ΧΕΤΙ ΜΗΤΕ

5 ΠΜΑΙΡΕ ΠΚΑΜ

]ΠΑΠ

"Stephen it is writes to my brother Joseph (1), (saying,) Give 10 bundles (2) of reeds [ "

185.

+ ΑΠΑ ΕΠΩΧ

ΕΥΣΑΙ ΠΠΑΠΑ

ΚΟΛΘΕ ΧΕΠΗΡΠ

ΠΩΡΕ ΣΑΠΟΥ Π

5 ΠΑΠΑ Π[

Τ[

"Apa Enoch writes to *papa* Kolthe, (saying,) the . . . . wine (3), set it to the account of *papa* P[ . . . "

186.

+

ΑΠΑ ΙΟΥΣΤΕ

ΠΕΥΣΑΙ ΠΠΑΠ

\*ie ΠΠΟΥΤΕ ΧΕΧΕΥ ΣΟΟΥ

ΠΜΟΙΑΣ ΠΟΙΚ ΠΑΠ ΜΠΟ[Υ]

5 ΣΟΤΣ ΝΣΕΜΧ ΜΠΟΥΣΟΤΣ ΠΧ

(1) Cf. perhaps 115.

(2) Besides PEYRON's example, Ryl. 291. Cf. ΜΗΡΕ in Theban texts, CO. 180, 341 etc. Possibly the reeds were for use in a vineyard (cf. P. Oxy. XIV, 1631, 9 n.), or for mat making.

(3) ΩΡΕ appears to be the word in KRALL XXIX, 4, where it can hardly be "rent". Cf. perhaps Ryl. 201, 210. The reading of the verb here is uncertain.

ἵρ μῆφορες σῆτε περπ η  
 παιωτ ἡσοροῦτον ἀγῶ  
 χεῦ καίμετη ἡφορες  
 πεμφῖς παπ ἀγῶ τι μη  
 10 τ ἡξεστε περπ ἡατ  
 ἀ'γη ετογει

"Apa Justus [it] is writes to Papnoute, (saying,) Send us 6 . . . . (1) of bread and a 5 | *hots* (2) of vinegar and a *hots* of pickle and 2 *phoros* of *sorouton* (3) wine for my father (4). And send us other 10 *phoros* of new wine. And add 10 *xestes* of . . . . (5) wine to each one."

## Invoices.

187.

+ ἐπωχπε εῃςαῖ ἡπασον  
 παπποῦτε χεεῖς μαβτασε ἡσοοῦνε  
 ἡσοῦο ἀτῆσοῦσοῦ πακ εῃραῖ ερε  
 [χτ]σοῦ ἡχοῦωτ ἡρτοῦ μῆτιοῦ ῖωωοῦ  
 5 [γῖ/ 0αλ/] λς : σι/ αρτ/ πε : εγρ/ μῆ.  
 ι]νδ ῖ +

(1) ΜΟΙΑ2 is a measure (or receptacle) for grain, BM. 1055, for straw Ryl. 319. In KRALL CCXLVII ΜΟΕΙ2 is among vessels, to judge by **CAAO** next it (cf. P. Lond. IV, 1610, 41 **CAPO**). In BM. 1066 its use is obscure. It is presumably the origin of μουεῖ(ον?), WESSELY, *Stud.* III, 280, and of the earlier μόιον, REIL, *Beiträge* 44. One or other of these forms in P. Oxy. 146, 1734, P. Grenf. I, XIV, PREISIGKE, *SB.* 1964. In these it appears as a hay or fodder measure.

(2) V. CO. 348 n. An ostrakon BP. 4949 shows its article fem. In 166, 198, it contains cheese, in 344 wine: therefore a jar or pot.

(3) This word is **ωροτον** in 141, **συροῦτων** in 92, **σιρωτον** in KRALL CCXLIII (where it holds γλυζόν) and σρω(τον) in Eg. Expl. Fund's Report 1904-5, 16 (= PREISIGKE, *SB.* 1960). Except in the present instance and in 92, it is clearly the vessel holding the wine or vinegar. Apparently unknown otherwise unless σερτικώς, an epithet of oil, P. Oxy. 1070, be the same word.

(4) Cf. 92. Presumably the abbot. Possibly however genitive, instead of dative, indicating a special quality of wine. Cf. 177, 178.

(5) "Un . . . wine"; but what the privative **ΑΤ-** qualifies is uncertain.

"Enoch it is writes to my brother Papnoute, (saying,) Lo, I have sent up (? down) 36 sacks of corn to you, making a total of four score and five *artabae* : [makes sacks] 36, 85 *artabae* of corn. Written, month [            ], 10th Indiction."

## 188.

ΑΝΟΚ ΠΑΣΟΝ ΚΙΡΕ  
 ΠΥΣ2ΑΙ ΠΠΑΣΟΝ  
 ΣΤΕΦΑΝ ΠΕΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ  
 ΧΕΣ 2ΜΗ ΠΚΑΣ Π  
 5 ΧΙΡ ΜΠΜΔΔ4 Π6Δ  
     ΛΛΟΣ  
 ΛΔ2Τ ΠΠΧΙΡ ΔΙΤΠΟ  
 ΟΥΣΟΥ ΠΔΚ . —  
 μῆνος = αθηρ ιβ

"I, brother (1) Cyrus, it is write to my brother Stephen, the steward (2), (saying,) Lo, 40 *carats* (3) of pickle and 30 pots of . . . . pickle (4) have I sent you. Month of Athyr 12."

## 189.

+ ΕΣ ΧΟΥΤΑΥΤΕ ΠΣΟΥΠΕ  
 ΠΣΟΥΟ ΔΙΤΠΟΥΣΟΥ ΠΕΤΠ  
 Γ1/ ΘΑΛΛ ΚΔ ΠΔΔ/ ΙΓ ΦΔΜ.  
 ΗΣΑΙΑΣ ΣΤΟΙ<sup>8</sup> + ΠΤΕΠΔΑ  
 5 ΜΟΥΑ ΠΩΠΠΑΡΕΣ

"Lo, 24 sacks of corn have I sent you. Makes (total), bags 24 (5). 13th Indiction, [. . .] Pham[enoth.] Esaias, I consent. By (?) the camels of Shenpares (6) (?)."

(1) *Lit.* "my brother". For Cyrus v. perhaps 174.

(2) This steward recurs in 89, 376.

(3) I cannot find this coin used elsewhere as a measure.

(4) Perhaps ΠΔΔΠΣ ΠΧΙΡ. Cf. ΧΙΡΔΔΨ, in a list of victuals in a Theban ostrakon, BP. 402.

(5) ΠΣΟΥΠΕ and ΘΑΛΛΙΚ thus appear to be identical quantities.

(6) This sentence, added by a different hand and apparently complete, is difficult. The preposition ΠΤΠ- is improbable and the last word might be "of (the) sons of Pares", wherewith one might compare the place-name in 225.



## 190.

+ ΚΑ ΕΙΣ ΨΕ ΖΜΕ ΨΜΟ[ΥΠ]  
 ΠΕΡΤΟϢ ΣΟΥΘ̄ ΛΙΤΗΘ[ΥΣΟΥ]  
 ΠΑΚ ΖΙΤΗΠΕΣΠΗΥ [  
 ΠΕΤΡΕ + Ø ΓΙ/ ΡΜ[Η  
 (space)

5 + ΘΑΛΛ̄ ΖΗ

"21(1). Lo, 148 *artabae* of corn have I sent you, by the brother [. . . . and] Peter. Total (2), makes *artabae* 14[8]. 68 bags (3)."

## 191.

+  
 ΕΙΣ ΜΗΤ  
 ΨΙΣ ΠΕΡΤΟϢ  
 ΠΙΣΙΜ ΨΑΠΠΟ  
 ΥΩΠΕ ΜΝΗΠΤ  
 5 ΨΙΣ ΠΕΡΤΟϢ Π  
 ΩΤ ΨΑΠΠΟΠΕ  
 ΣΠΤΕ ΛΙΤΗΘΥΣΟΥ  
 ΕΡΗΣ + ΕΥΡΡΑ  
 με/ ι ζ ινδ/

"Lo, 19 *artabae* of fodder, less 1 *oipe*, and 19 *artabae* of barley, less 2 *oipe*, have I sent southward. Written 10th of Mesore, 6th Indiction."

## 192.

ΠΩΕ[  
 ΧΤΟΥΕ[. . .] . . Ε  
 ΛΥΩ ΕΧΤΧΜΗΠΕ ΠΕΘΟΥΠΕ  
 ΛΙΤΗΘΟΥΣΟΥ ΠΑΚ ΖΙ  
 5 ΤΟϢ ΠΩΖΑΠΗΣ ΜΑΠ  
 ΠΕΑΜΟΥΛ ΤΑΣ ΠΑΠΑ  
 ΠΑΖΡΟΥ ΠΕΙΚΩΠΟΜΟΣ  
 ΖΙΤΕΠΩΖΑΠΗΣ

(1) ΚΑ remains to be explained. Possibly a numeral, showing this to be the 21st invoice sent; or perhaps the day of the month.

(2) Ø, though made like an ordinary Θ, is probably the symbol for ὀμοῦ.

(3) Do the 68 bags contain the corn sent?

"... ] 13| and 10 (?) (1), I have sent you 28 sacks (2) by John, the camelherd. Give it (3) to Apa Nahrow, the steward, from John."

## 193.

Ρ ΧΟΙΑΚ ΚΕ  
 δ/ ΙΕΡΗΜ/ ΜΝ  
 ΗΕΓΕΝΗΥ ΖΙΤΟ  
 ΟΤΨ ΠΛΟΥΚΑΣ  
 5 ΟΙ/ ΜΙΚ/ ΡΗΗ ΜΟ/  
 ΚΟΛΛΟΥΘΟΣ  
 ΕΓΡΑΨ/ +

"Choiak 25th (?). From Jeremias and his brethren (4), through Luke (5): wine, small 198 and no more. Colluthus wrote it."

## 194.

The character of the following ostraca is not so certain as that of the preceding, owing to their brevity. They may conceivably be receipts without a date; but it seems unlikely that receipts, except by an accident, would be issued without a date, and on the whole it is most probable that they were notes of the destination and, in most cases, nature and amount, of consignments, sent with them as a check on full delivery.

Ρ ΤΚΕΜΑΠ :  
 ΖΗΠΛΟΥΚΑΣ  
 ΠΜΑΝΘΑΜΟΥΛ  
 ΜΠΚΑ/ : Μ :

(1) Reading ΕΧΧΟΥΤΩΜΗΗΙΕ.

(2) Contains fodder, onions or corn in these texts; most often the last.

(3) ΤΑC thus in 106. Perhaps by the same scribe.

(4) This phrase is used on stelae (29. 30 etc.) for Thomas, founder of our monastery, and his group (v. Introduction, p. 7). Should it here be taken to refer to another community, possibly that near Antinoe, KRALL LXXXVI?

(5) Cf. 245 ff.

"Tkeman (1), through Luke the camelherd, with 40 camels."

## 195.

This ostracon is probably complete, but the ink on the left side is so faint as to be illegible. It is therefore not certain that it is an invoice and not (*e. g.*) a receipt, beginning with a date, but it is placed here because it mentions the same place as 194.

. . ]TKEMAN:

. . ]AN:

[A/ PA]HCE KANAA/

1. TKEMAN: there can be little doubt that the place is Tkeman, but the last letter but one looks more like o than A, and o may have been (incorrectly) written.

3. PA]HCE: see 320—324.

## 196.

The ostraca 196—199 all begin with the name of Apa Elias. He may be either the consignee or the camel-driver, perhaps more probably the former; but see 200 and 201.

ΑΠΑ ΕΗΛΙΑC

ΟΡΓΟΝ 2ΑΛΩΜ. 15.

ΑCΚΑΛΩΠΕ 2ΑΛΩΜ: 5:

(1) Presumably the Tkemēn of CSCO. 43, 150 and CRUM, *Copt. MSS.* p. 78 (a Fayyumic text). This seems to be near Heracleopolis. It looks unlike a native name and we may perhaps identify it with ACHKIMAH, near Bilgai (ROSSI, *Nuovo Cod.* 87, cf. *Synax.*, 25th Tūbah) and this possibly with "Tahmūn", *leg.* Tagamūn (*Synax.*, 10th Baūnah), remembering that our name is in 253 written Tgeman. The village near Tkemēn, Phwoh enniamēw, suggests (translated) Bārūt al-Baqqār, opposite Beni Suēf, though phonetically it resembles the neighbouring Bahnamūh.

"Apa Elias. 16 *orgon* (1) of cheese, 6 *askalone* (2) of cheese."

197.

ΑΠΑ ΖΗΛΙΑΣ :  
ΚΟΛΛΑΘΕ ΖΑΛΩΜ : Η̄ :  
ΦΡ ΕΦΜΗΖ : Δ̄ :

"Apa Elias, 8 *kolathe* of cheese, 4 baskets (3) full."

198.

ΑΠΑ ΖΗΛΙΑΣ  
ΖΑΛΩΜ ΔΣΚΑΛΩΠΕ  
ΟΡΓΟΝ : Η̄ : 15  
ΟΥΠΟΘ ΠΖΟΤΣ ΖΑΛΩΜ

"Apa Elias. Cheese, 16 *askalone*, 8 *orgon*, a large *hots* of cheese."

199.

ΑΠΑ ΖΗΛΙ/  
ΟΙ/ ΝΕΓ/ : 4 :

"Apa Elias. Wine, 90 large measures."

(1) In BUDGE, *Apoc.* 97, 99 ΟΡΓΑΝΟΝ is clearly a vessel holding water and corresponds to ΛΑΚΟΝ in the Boh. of this text (*MIE.* II, 400). Similarly in BUDGE, *Misc.* 387 ΛΑΚΩΝ = ΟΡΓΑΝΟΝ in the Boh., ΚΟΥΦΟΝ in Sa. parallel texts (v. BM. 305). In *CSCO.* 43, 178 it is a vessel (or machine?) into which a martyr is to be cast, before burning. I assume that this and ΟΡΓΟΝ are identical, since the latter is used equally for containing victuals: lentils and cheese *RE.* 46, olives Bodl. *Copt.* b 9, pickle P. Lond. IV, 1631, c. 5. In HALI. p. 129 ΟΡΓΩΝ appears in a list of wine vessels. In a Theban pap. (TURRAIEFF in *Mem. Russian Archeol. Soc.* XVIII, 026) ΟΡΓΟΝ is found in an unilluminating context.

(2) In 198 and 203 this holds cheese, in 237, 275 perhaps wine (cf. Leontius, GELZER, p. 37). Other instances, BM. 1044 n. Note that ΔΣΚΟΛΟΠΗ in the *Scalae* is translated آقچه. "cloth or napkin, wherein things are laid or wrapt" (so H. ALMKVIST, *Kleine Beiträge* 285, though KIRCHER, p. 119 has it for "face veil").

(3) The use of this in 275 shows that the ΒΙΡ normally contained the same article, presumably (as often elsewhere) bread.

## 200.

As Mathias and Hôr are both known as camel-drivers, it seems likely that they are the persons named here, the consignee not being mentioned; cf. too 201, where the camel-driver is named at the beginning. In 196—199, on the contrary, Apa Elias, not known elsewhere as a camel-driver, is perhaps more likely to be the consignee. The ostrakon is a palimpsest, traces (two lines) of an earlier text, written before this piece of pot was broken off, being visible at the top.

+ ΜΑΘΙΑΣ Σ ΩΡΟΣ  
ΦΟΙΝΙΚ/ ΘΑΛΛ/ ΛΒ

"Mathias and Horus. Dates, 32 *thallia*."

## 201.

+ ΕΥΣ[ΤΑΘΙΟΣ?]  
ΚΑΜΑ[Λ]  
ΣΙΤΟΥ ΑΡ[ΤΑΒΩ]  
Π ΕΙΚΟCΙ[

"Eustathius(?), camel-driver. Wheat, 20 artabas."

4 f. ΑΡ[ΤΑΒΩ]|Π: the division is not, in the case of these ostraca, a fatal objection to the reading, but it is of course possible that we ought to read ΠΕΙΚΟCΙ, part of a place-name; qu. *Εἰκοσιπενταρῶρων*?

## 202.

+ Κ  
ΑΡΑΚΕ ΠΠΠ  
ΠΠ

ΑΡΑΚΕ = ἀρακος, "arak" (as in BM. 1132, Fayyûmic ΑΡΑΚΙ, KRALL CCXXVII, or ΑΡΑΚΑ, CRUM, *Copt. MSS.*, p. 78).

Of thrice repeated ΠΠ I can make nothing.



## 203.

ΑΚΚΑΛΩΠΙΓ  
 2ΑΛΩΜ : ΙΒ :

"12 askalone of cheese."

## 204.

CHAY OYEOC  
 ΠΕΛΜΟΥΛ ΗCO  
 ΟΥΟ ΙΩ2ΑΠHC

"2 and a half camels (loads)(1) of corn. John."

## Receipts.

The receipts, to which class the great majority of the Greek ostraca belong, fall, for the most part, into certain clearly marked types, and they have been arranged accordingly. The first receipt of each type is furnished with an introduction dealing with all the documents of its class. The measures which occur are discussed not in the notes to the individual receipts but in the section of the general introduction devoted to the metrology of these ostraca. As the receipts are so uniform in type it seems useless to give translations of all, and only a few are translated to serve as specimens of the various classes.

## 205.

First are placed those receipts which begin with a date. The majority of these (213—339) are arranged on the plan: Date; place-name; amount of wine; name of camel-driver without 2(12); no signature by the clerk. This class is dealt with in the introduction to 213. But first are placed some receipts which begin indeed with a date but in other respects follow a different arrangement. Nos. 205—208 show the scheme: Date; number of 02λλ!2 and amount of corn in artabas; 2(12) with a personal

(1) V. Introduction, § IV *Metrology*.

name; signature of the clerk issuing the receipt. These offer no difficulty, except as regards the question as to the purpose of the receipt, which is more conveniently dealt with in connexion with the section 213—339 below, and the meaning of  $\theta\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha$ . The figures following this word show that it is here used as a measure (see the general introduction); but it is curious that no article is specified. An analogy is furnished by some of the ostraca (already referred to in a previous section) published by GRENFELL and HUNT in the *Archaeological Report* of the Eg. Expl. Fund for 1905—6 and 1906—7 and now included in PREISIGKE's *Sammelbuch*, viz. SB. 1966,  $\theta/\zeta(\dot{\alpha}\rho\tau.)\iota\alpha$ ; 1967,  $\theta/\lambda\beta(\dot{\alpha}\rho\tau.)\nu\epsilon$ ; 1968,  $\theta\alpha\lambda\eta\sigma\iota( )\dot{\iota}\delta$  [so edd., but probably  $\theta\alpha\lambda(\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha)\tau\sigma\acute{\iota}(\tau.\dot{\alpha}\rho\tau.)\dot{\iota}\delta$  or  $\theta\alpha\lambda(\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha)\tau\sigma\acute{\iota}(\tau.)\dot{\alpha}\rho(\tau.)\dot{\iota}\delta$  is to be read]; 1978,  $\theta\alpha\lambda(\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha)\iota\epsilon(\dot{\alpha}\rho\tau.)\lambda$ . In 306 and 316  $\theta\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\epsilon\sigma\nu$  occurs as a measure of dates, in 367 of barley, and in 370 of vegetable seed; it is nowhere used as a measure of wine. As  $\sigma\acute{\iota}\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  in Byzantine times was regularly used as "wheat", not as "corn" in general, and  $\theta\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\epsilon\sigma\nu$  once occurs as a measure of barley, it is possible that barley is to be understood here. There are however some objections to this.

In the first place, since wheat was far the commoner crop it is strange that barley, not it, should be the one to be unnamed; one would expect the more usual produce, if either, to be understood, the less usual to be named. Secondly, since barley was regularly reckoned by artabas, there seems no reason why it should here be reckoned by  $\theta\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha$ , wheat, as usual, by artabas. In the third place it is significant that in all cases (except 360; see the introduction there) the number of artabas is just double that of  $\theta\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha$ . This is not, indeed, the case with GRENFELL and HUNT's ostraca. In 1978, 15  $\theta\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha$  are half the number of artabas (30); but in the other cases the proportion is different. In 1966 the figures are  $\zeta$  and  $\iota\alpha$ ; and here we may suspect that  $\iota\alpha$  is really to be read  $\dot{\iota}\delta$ , which gives the required ratio, 7 : 14. In 1967  $\lambda\beta$  and  $\nu\epsilon$ , and in 1968  $\theta\alpha\lambda\eta\sigma\iota( )\dot{\iota}\delta$ , are less tractable. It is perhaps possible that in 1967  $\nu\epsilon$  may be a misreading, though it seems hardly likely that  $\xi\dot{\iota}\delta$ , the double of  $\lambda\beta$ , could be read as  $\nu\epsilon$ ; nor do  $\tau$  and  $\dot{\iota}\delta$ , the reading sug-

gested above for 1968, lend themselves easily to correction ( $\eta : \epsilon$  or  $\zeta : \epsilon$ ). Nevertheless the evidence of the present collection and the fact that one and very likely two of the *Arch. Report* ostraca show the same ratio make it at least possible that a revision of the others also might reveal it; and in any case it is not unlikely that  $\theta\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\nu$  in the Wadi Sarga receipts (with the possible exception of 360)(1) is to be taken as simply an alternative way of expressing the amount stated in artabas; i. e. that a  $\theta\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\nu$  was 2 artabas. It is strange that it here comes first and that  $\sigma\acute{\iota}(\tau\sigma\upsilon)$  is placed with ( $\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\acute{\alpha}\beta\alpha\iota$ ), not with it; but the combination  $\sigma\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\tau$  or  $\sigma\iota|\overline{\sigma}$  was so common that it may have become well-nigh inseparable, the clerks writing it without any consciousness of the  $\sigma\acute{\iota}\tau\sigma\upsilon$ .

The receipts 205—208, which, as has been said, show the same arrangement, were all issued by a clerk named Horus. Only in 205 is the person whose name follows  $\hat{\epsilon}(\acute{\iota}\acute{\chi})$  described as a camel-driver; in 206 we have an  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\iota\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\mu\mu\chi\epsilon\zeta$ , and in the other two cases there is no description; but it can hardly be doubted that in each case  $\hat{\epsilon}(\acute{\iota}\acute{\chi})$  indicates the person who brought the consignment.

+ / ΜΕΣΟΡ / ΙΘ  
 ΘΑΛΛΑ / ΛΗ C |  $\overline{\sigma}$  ΟΣ  
 Λ / ΝΩΣΕ ΚΩΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΕ  
 ΚΑΜΑΛ / ΠΕΡΩΜ ΣΕΒΗΤ $\overline{\tau}$   
 5 + ΩΡΟΣ ΣΤΟΙΧΗ

"Mesore 19. 38 *thallia*, 76 artabas of wheat by Nohe son of Constantine, camel-driver of the men of Sebêtef (?). Horus: correct."

3. ΝΩΣΕ: the  $\eta$ , though doubtful, is probable.

4. ΠΕΡΩΜ ΣΕΒΗΤ $\overline{\tau}$ : Coptic; see translation. The name could equally well be read ΣΕΑΝΤ $\overline{\tau}$ , but that seems an impossible name.

(1) See however 187 and 190. In 190, 68 *thallia* correspond with 148 artabas; in 187, 36 [*thallia*] correspond with 85 artabas. Even at Wadi Sarga, therefore, the rule, if rule it is, does not hold good throughout.

## 206.

P/ MECOP/ KE  
 ΘΑΛΛ/ ΠΗ  
 CI|<sup>—</sup> PIC Δ/ ΜΑΚΑΡ/  
 ΑΧΡΙCΥΜΑΝΟC  
 5 P ΩΡΟC CTOIX/

“Mesore 25. 58 *thallia*, 116 artabas of wheat, by Macarius, chief courier. Horus: correct.”

4. ΑΧΡΙCΥΜΑΝΟC: *sic.* Cf. 111.

## 207.

+/ MECOP/ KΣ  
 ΘΑΛΛ/ Μ  
 CI|<sup>—</sup> Π Δ/ ΕΠΩΧ  
 ΠΚΟΥΡ + ΩΡΟC  
 5 CTOIXE ΜΟΥ

“Mesore 26. 40 *thallia*, 80 artabas of wheat, by Enoch the deaf man. Horus: correct.”

4. ΠΚΟΥΡ: ΚΟΥΡ occurs once or twice in late Sa'idic texts, *e. g.* BIF. XIV, 114.

5. CTOIXE ΜΟΥ: quite possibly the characters which follow CTOIX are merely flourishes. This is rather supported by 208, 5; see note there.

## 208.

+/ MECOP/  
 ΚΖ ΘΑΛΛ/ Μ  
 CI|<sup>—</sup> Π Δ/ ΠΛ  
 CON ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑC  
 5 + ΩΡΟC CTOIX..

“Mesore 27. 40 *thallia*, 80 artabas of wheat, by brother Jeremias. Horus: correct.”

5. CTOIX is probably followed by nothing more than flourishes.

## 209.

This receipt is for wine, but its arrangement agrees with that of the preceding ones. The clerk is  $\mu\eta\eta\bar{o}$ , who occurs also in the series 345—354, all in the same hand as the present receipt. The name is naturally taken as a miswriting of Menas, though this seems difficult to reconcile with the fact that in 345, 346, 352 and 353 the name Menas, correctly spelled, also occurs, which suggests the form Minus ( $\text{Μένους}$ ) for this name; but no such name seems to occur elsewhere, and cf. 167, 2,  $\mu\eta\eta\alpha$ , and 172, 1,  $\mu\eta\eta\epsilon$ , as compared with 181, 1,  $\mu\eta\eta\alpha$ .

+  $\theta\omega\theta$   
 $\epsilon\pi\alpha\gamma/\ \Gamma\ \alpha\ \phi/$   
 $\alpha/\ \iota\omega\sigma\eta\phi/\ \kappa\alpha\mu\alpha\alpha/$   
 $\omicron\iota/\ \mu\epsilon\gamma/\ \epsilon\chi\eta\kappa\omicron\mu\tau\alpha$   
 5  $\omicron\kappa\tau\omega\ \gamma\iota/\ \omicron\iota/\ \mu\epsilon\gamma/\ \chi\eta\ \bar{\mu}/$   
 $\alpha/\ \mu\eta\eta\bar{o}\ \epsilon\gamma\alpha/$

"Thoth, 3rd intercalary day, 1st convoy, by Joseph, camel-driver: wine, sixty-eight large measures = wine, 68 large, only. Written by Menas."

## 210.

This receipt is for  $\epsilon\psi\eta\mu\alpha$  (boiled wine) and is issued by Phibius. In other respects it agrees with the foregoing.

+  $\mu\epsilon\sigma\omicron\rho\eta\ //\ \kappa\gamma\ [//]$   
 $\omicron\mu\omicron\iota/\ \alpha/\ \iota\omega\lambda\eta\pi\iota[11]$   
 $\gamma\psi\eta\mu\alpha\tau\ \phi\omicron\rho/\ \kappa\alpha$   
 $\kappa\alpha\alpha/\ 95$   
 5 +  $\alpha/\ \epsilon\mu\omicron\Upsilon\ \phi\iota\beta\iota\omicron\Upsilon$   
 $\epsilon\gamma\tau/\ +$

"Mesore 23. Ditto, by John, boiled wine, 24 *phorai*, 96 jars. Written by me Phibius."

1. Though the edge of the pot is broken immediately after  $\kappa\tau$ , it is unlikely that anything is lost except the two strokes



following the numeral. Hence the ἐμς(ως) of l. 2 cannot refer to anything preceding (l. 1, though near the top edge of the ostrakon, was probably the first line) and was presumably inserted mechanically by a clerk accustomed to writing ΟΜΟΙ/ in his day-book. So too in l. 2 nothing beyond the Η is likely to be lost.

3. ΥΨΗΜΑΤ: the τ is very doubtful, but there can be little question that ἐψήματα is meant. For this see index to P. Lond. IV, where it is very common.

4. ΚΑΛ/ 45: perhaps χᾶδος 45, "in 96 jars"? χᾶδος does not elsewhere occur as a definite measure, and cf. 126, where various amounts of wine are perhaps noted as taken from numbered χᾶδοι.

## 211.

The two following receipts are both issued by a clerk named Colluthus. They agree in arrangement with the foregoing except that the date is followed by the name of the estate or settlement from which the wine came and that they specify the πορσί.

Ρ ΘΩΘ 15 ΟΙ/ ΘΑΛΛΟΥ  
 Α. ΦΟΥΡ/ Α. ΑΘΑΝΑΣΕ  
 ΚΑΜ/ ΟΙ/ ΚΗΔΑ/ ΡΙΕ  
 ΕΚΑΤΟΗ ΔΕΚΑΠΕ  
 5 ΗΤΕ ΚΟΛΛΟΥΘΟΣ  
 ΕΓΡΑ/ + ΟΜΟΙ/ ΚΑΜ/ ΕΗ  
 ΟΙ/ ΚΗΔΑ/ ΚΑ · ΕΙΚΟ  
 CΙ ΤΕΣΣΕΡΑ +

"Thoth 16, wine from Thallou, 4th convoy, by Athanasius, camel-driver: wine, 115 = one hundred and fifteen *cnidia*. Written by Colluthus. Similarly, one camel-load, wine, 24 = twenty-four *cnidia*.

1. ΘΑΛΛΟΥ: in 212 a place-name occurs in this position, and Θαλλεύ is frequently found (e. g., in 216 and 217) in a position implying that it is the name of a village or an estate; otherwise we might take ἐ(ν) τῷ Θαλλεῦ as = "a present" (i. e., a "custo-

mary payment") "of wine". For estates named in this way, after common nouns, see index 4(b) to P. Lond. IV, e. g., Ἀρ-  
πέλουργου, Βαρέως, Λίκκου; and in the present volume ἔργων  
Ἀρπέλου in 355 and 356. But 212, 4 is a difficulty; see note there.  
Θάλλου occurs as a place-name in KRALL 242, 23, Ryl. 256, 3. Cf.  
also P. Flor. I 50, 17, 60, 84 (a κόρη; Hermopolite nome),  
WESSELY *Studien*, X, no. 203, 3 (χώρα; Heracleopolite nome);  
190, 3 (Hermopolite nome). There is a Tallah now, opposite  
Minyah, also a Talâ N. W. of Feshn.

2. Λ is much more likely than λ, and if it is correct this  
is an exception to the rule that 3 is the highest number of  
ζεραί in these ostraca (see introduction to 121). Cf. 355, 4; 368, 2.

6. ΚΑΜ : no doubt (in view of the εἰ) = καμήλιν; cf. 370, 5  
and note, and see General Introduction, § *Metrology*.

## 212.

ⲡ ⲁϥⲣ ⲥ ⲕⲱⲙ  
ⲡⲁⲃⲓⲱⲩⲱ  
ⲕ/ ⲙⲁⲑⲓⲁⲥ ⲥ ⲡⲕⲟⲩ  
ⲑ/ ⲁ ϥⲟⲩⲣ/ ⲟⲓ/ ⲙⲉⲣ/  
ⲙ ⲙⲟ/ ⲧⲉⲥⲥⲉⲣⲁⲕ/  
ⲕⲟⲗⲗⲟⲩⲑ/ ⲉⲣⲣⲁⲩ/

"Hathyr 6, village of Plebiôw, by Mathias and Pkou. Thal-  
lou(?), 1st convoy: wine, 40 large measures only = forty. Writ-  
ten by Colluthus."

2. ΠΛΕΒΙΩΟΥ: Plebiôw recurs in P. Alex. XIII (*Sphinx* X 4,  
collated), a thoroughly Fayyûmic text; also at Bawit (CLÉDAT,  
*Baouit*, II 30) and as ΠΛΕΒΩΟΥ (*ib.* I 137). In the first of these  
Feshn is mentioned, seemingly as further South.

4. Θ : θ/ naturally suggests Θάλλου or Θάλλιζ. The second  
is unlikely, as Θάλλιζ do not elsewhere occur along with de-  
liveries of wine, and only, when unaccompanied by the name  
of an article (except in 260), in conjunction with an amount  
of wheat; moreover Θάλλιζ would hardly be placed before the

specification of the  $\varphi\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}$ . Hence  $\theta\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma\upsilon$  is the probable extension, and the fact that a place-name has already been given suggests that the word is here a common noun and means "present", "customary payment," as suggested in the note on 211, 1. But  $\text{Plebi\acute{o}\omega}$  is a village, not an estate, and  $\theta\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma\upsilon$  may well have been an estate situated there; or the meaning may be "of Thallou", referring to the two carriers. Hence there is no need to adopt the alternative explanation.

## 213.

The great majority of the receipts belong to the series beginning with the present one. With a few unimportant individual variations all these receipts follow a uniform scheme, which is as follows: Date; place-name; amount of wine; name of camel-driver, without  $\vartheta(\acute{\iota}\alpha)$ . In a few cases the name of the camel-driver has been omitted; fairly often consignments are noted from more than one place, and occasionally a second payment is inserted, no doubt by an afterthought, after the name of the camel-driver. These receipts are here arranged according to the names of the camel-drivers, and, in each section, by the names of the towns or villages; at the end are given those in which the name of the camel-driver is not inserted or has been lost.

As the type is so uniform, the interest of most of these receipts lies mainly in the place-names and the measures used. There is however a general problem to be settled in regard to them. To whom and by whom were they given, and what is their purpose? The only personal name which occurs in each is that of the camel-driver; did he issue the receipt, or was he the recipient? And, in the latter case, where was the receipt given him?

That the camel-drivers whose names occur on these receipts were not the persons who issued them is proved conclusively by the hands, which do not vary with the camel-drivers. The great majority of the receipts are in a single hand; nor do the other hands which occur correspond with the occurrences of

any one camel-driver. Clearly, then, the camel-driver is merely the carrier of the wine; the receipts were issued by a clerk who did not sign his name.

We may conclude that the receipts were given to the camel-driver either when he received the wine for conveyance or when he delivered it at its destination; in the first case these ostraca are of course not to be regarded as receipts at all but a sort of way-bill or tally, which he delivered up to the recipients of the wine as a check on proper delivery. In favour of this hypothesis is the fact that the ostraca were all found on a single site, whereas we might expect the camel-drivers to come from various places; indeed some of them are described as "of so-and-so" (e. g., 205, 4). But the hands again seem a conclusive objection; for on this theory we should have to suppose that the ostraca were written in many different places and therefore by different clerks, whereas only a very few hands are found in them, whose occurrences do not correspond with the occurrences of any particular place-name. Hence it seems clear that the ostraca are receipts given to the camel-drivers on delivery of the wine. From this two conclusions follow: first, as the ostraca were all found at Wadi Sarga, the camel-drivers must have lived there, at least part of their time, and second, it seems probable that the receipts were meant for the camel-drivers only, to clear them of responsibility for the wine, not for the consignors. Receipts to the latter would hardly have been found at Wadi Sarga; and moreover they would almost certainly bear the names of the consignor and of the recipient or his representative.

The case may, however, be different with the preceding ostraca. 205—208 are not only all issued by the same clerk but they have no place-name. It seems quite likely therefore that they are in the nature of a way-bill, given to the camel-driver with the wine and handed over by him on making delivery; and 209—212 may be of the same class.

First are placed the receipts issued to Hôr.

+ ΠΛΟΠΕ :  $\bar{\alpha}$  :  
 ΤΑΚΟΥΟΥΤC :  
 ΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ/ :  $\bar{\alpha}$  : ΜΙΚ  $\bar{\alpha}$   
 ΠΜ2ΑΤC :  
 ΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ/ :  $\bar{z}$   
 ΠΕ2 : ΛΑΚ/  $\bar{\alpha}$   
 2ΩΡ ΚΑΜΑΛ/

“Phaophi 1. Takwutes: wine, 30 large measures, 1 small. Nemhate: wine, 7 large; oil, 1 *lakkon*. Hôr, camel-driver.”

2. ΤΑΚΟΥΟΥΤC: the forms which occur are the foregoing (four times), ΤΑΚΟΥΤC (twice), and ΤΑΚΟΥΤHC (twice). Therefore it = Takwutes or Takoutes; the termination (as in Tjites) not representing  $\chi$  (*ts*). Τζωωγ<sup>ο</sup> in P. Lond. IV 1460, 150 seems scarcely worth comparing here, and the place remains to be identified.

4. ΠΜ2ΑΤC: this occurs in Hyvernat's *Actes* 287 as ΠΕΜ2Α-|. Our text supports HYVERNAT'S reading (cf. AMÉLINEAU, *Géogr.* 274 n.). Presumably in the Heracleopolite neighbourhood, since of the other places named with it, Iebli is near Banâ, Naui in the Heracl. nome and Shbenti (Eshment) not much farther north.

## 214.

P ΠΛΟΠΕ  $\bar{\alpha}$  :  
 ΤΑΚΟΥΟΥΤC  
 ΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ/ :  $\bar{\alpha}\eta$  :  
 2ΩΡ ΚΑΜΑΛ/

## 215.

P  $\bar{\theta}\omega\bar{\theta}$  :  $\bar{\kappa}\alpha$  :  
 ΤΧΙΤC  
 ΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ/ :  $\bar{\alpha}\varsigma$  :  
 2ΩΡ ΚΑ  
 ΜΑΛ/

2. ΤΧΙΤC: not found elsewhere.



## 216.

P  $\overline{\Theta\Omega\Theta} : \overline{\kappa\lambda}$   
 $\overline{\tau\chi\iota\tau\epsilon}$   
 OI/  $\overline{\mu\epsilon\gamma}$  :  $\overline{\lambda}$  :  
 2ΩΡ  $\overline{\kappa\alpha\mu\alpha\lambda}$  /  
 λΑΚΟΠ :  $\overline{\lambda}$  :  
 ΘΑΛΛΟΥ :  
 ΜΙΚ/ :  $\overline{\lambda}$  :

"Thoth 21. Tjites: wine, 4 large measures. Hôr, camel-driver. 4 *lakka*. Thallou: 1 small measure."

5. λΑΚΟΠ :  $\overline{\lambda}$  : it is to be noticed that the number is the same as in l. 3; and in l. 7 the wine from Thallou is measured by the *μικρόν*. This may suggest that here λΑΚΟΠ = *μέγας*, not *μικρόν* as in 167, where see the note. See the metrological section of the introduction.

## 217.

P  $\overline{\Theta\Omega\Theta} : \overline{\kappa\Gamma}$  :  
 ΘΑΛΛΟΥ :  
 OI/  $\overline{\mu\epsilon\gamma}$  :  $\overline{\kappa\lambda}$  :  
 2ΩΡ  $\overline{\kappa\alpha\mu\alpha\lambda}$  /  
 ΜΙΚ/  $\overline{\mu\Theta}$  :

## 218.

P  $\overline{\Theta\Omega\Theta} : \overline{\kappa\epsilon}$  :  
 ΤΑΞΡΟΥΧ :  
 OI/  $\overline{\mu\epsilon\gamma}$  :  $\overline{\tau\eta\eta}$  :  
 2ΩΡ  $\overline{\kappa\alpha\mu\alpha\lambda}$  /

2. ΤΑΞΡΟΥΧ: this name occurs in Ryl. 325, 5. Cf. (?) Dah-rût, opposite Sharôna; also Ταρσῶθις (P. Oxy. 998, WESSELY *Stud.*, X, no. 39, 8); but cf. ΤΑΡΟΥΧΕΩC in 254. A name similarly formed is Ταρουσεβτ (P. Oxy., l. c.)

## 219.

$\overline{\text{O}\omega\theta} : \overline{\text{K}\epsilon} :$

$\text{TCY}\eta\text{Z}\omega\text{P}$

$\text{OI}' \text{MEΓ}' : \overline{\text{A}\epsilon} :$

$\text{Z}\omega\text{P KAMAA}'$

2. Sanhūr is the name of several places, one in the N.W. of the Fayyūm; yet that, though distant from most of the places named, may be ours: Tiloj and Hnēs are not much less distant.

## 220.

P  $\overline{\text{O}\omega\theta} : \overline{\text{K}\lambda} :$

$\text{TCY}\eta\text{Z}\omega\text{P} : \text{MEΓ}' : \overline{\text{H}} :$

$\text{OI}' \text{MIK} : \overline{\text{H}\lambda} :$

$\text{Z}\omega\text{P KAMAA}'$

## 221.

P  $\phi\lambda\omega\phi\iota : \overline{\text{I}\epsilon} :$

$\text{TCY}\eta\text{Z}\omega\text{P} :$

$\text{OI}' \text{MIK} : \overline{\text{O}\zeta}$

$\text{Z}\omega\text{P KAMAA}$

3.  $\overline{\text{O}\zeta} : \text{z}$  corr. from  $\varsigma$ .

## 222.

P  $\overline{\text{O}\omega\theta} : \overline{\text{K}} : \text{TOY}\text{Z}\omega$

$\text{OI}' \text{MEΓ}' : \overline{\text{Z}\lambda} :$

$\text{Z}\omega\text{P KAMAA}'$

1.  $\text{TOY}\text{Z}\omega$  : see 133, 3 note.

## 223.

P  $\overline{\text{O}\omega\theta} : \overline{\text{K}} :$

$\text{TOY}\text{Z}\omega$

$\text{OI}' \text{MEΓ}' : \overline{\text{I}\varsigma} :$

$\text{Z}\omega\text{P KAMAA}'$

## 224.

P  $\overline{\Theta\omega\Theta}$  :  $\overline{\text{I}\epsilon}$  :

TMOYHCIM :

OI/ MEG/ :  $\overline{\lambda}$  :

2WP KAM

5  $\overline{\lambda\lambda}$ 

2. TMOYHCIM : not found elsewhere; = "Grass Island".

## 225.

In this and the following receipts the camel-driver is named John. It is however doubtful whether the same person is concerned throughout. In 227 the name is ἸΩΣΑΠΠΗΣ ΚΟΥΪ ("John the younger"), in 228 ἸΩΣΑΠΠΗΣ ΠΟΘ ("John the elder"), and we also have a John ΠΕΡΑ (351) or ΑΠΟ ΠΕΡΘ (354), a John ΠΟ . . ΕΑΣ (370), and a John ΠΑΡΟΥ (121, 2; 122, 18; 385). These may conceivably all be the same, but the name was a very common one, and it is more likely that there were several camel-drivers called John.

P  $\overline{\Theta\omega\Theta}$  :  $\overline{\text{K}\epsilon}$  :

TCYH2WP

OI/ MEG/ :  $\overline{\text{K}\epsilon}$  :

ἸΩΣΑΠΠΗΣ

5 ΚΑΜΑΛ

## 226.

P  $\overline{\Theta\omega\Theta}$  :  $\overline{\text{K}\epsilon}$  :

TCYH2WP :

OI/ MEG/ :  $\overline{\lambda\epsilon}$  :

ἸΩΣΑΠΠΗΣ

5 ΚΑΜΑΛ

## 227.

ⲡ ϣⲁⲱϣⲓ :  $\overline{\text{IE}}$  .

ⲧⲥⲱⲛⲁⲱⲣ :

ⲟⲓ/ ⲙⲓⲕ/ :  $\overline{\text{P}}$  : ~

ⲓⲱⲥⲁⲛⲛⲓⲥ ⲕⲟϥⲓ

ⲕⲁⲙⲁⲗ/

3.  $\overline{\text{P}}$  : apparently a corr.

## 228.

ⲡ ϣⲁⲱϣⲓ :  $\overline{\text{IE}}$  :

ⲧⲥⲱⲛⲁⲱⲣ : ⲟⲓ/ ⲙⲉⲓⲧ :  $\overline{\text{KZ}}$

ⲓⲱⲥⲁⲛⲛⲓⲥ ⲛⲟⲥ ⲕⲁⲙⲁⲗ/

ⲕⲉ ⲙⲓⲕ/ :  $\overline{\text{IO}}$  :

2.  $\overline{\text{KZ}}$  : z corr., probably from ⲉ.

4. ⲕⲉ : =  $\chi\chi\iota$ ? or perhaps more likely the Coptic ⲕⲉ, "other". Cf. 294, 4.

## 229.

ⲡ ⲟⲱⲟ :  $\overline{\text{IE}}$  .

ⲧⲙⲟϥⲛⲥⲓⲙ

ⲟⲓ/ ⲙⲉⲓⲧ :  $\overline{\text{ZL}}$  :

ⲓⲱⲥⲁⲛⲛⲓⲥ

ⲕⲁⲙⲁⲗ/

ⲙⲓⲕ/ :  $\overline{\text{L}}$  :

## 230.

ⲡ ⲟⲱⲟ :  $\overline{\text{IE}}$  :

ⲧⲙⲟϥⲛⲥⲓⲙ .

ⲟⲓ/ : ⲙⲉⲓⲧ/ :  $\overline{\text{AH}}$  :

ⲓⲱⲥⲁⲛⲛⲓⲥ ⲕⲁ

ⲙⲁⲗ/

## 231.

P  $\overline{\text{O}\overline{\text{O}\overline{\text{O}}}}$  :  $\overline{\text{H}}$  :  $\text{TOY}\overline{\text{Z}\overline{\text{O}}}$   
 OI/  $\overline{\text{MEI}}$  :  $\overline{\text{A}}$  :  
 ἸΩΣΑΠΠΗΣ ΚΑΜΑΛ

## 232.

This receipt is probably complete, as nothing more is required at the beginning; but l. 1 is close to the upper edge of the potsherd, and something may therefore be lost.

ΠΑΟΠΕ :  $\overline{\xi}$  :  
 ΤΩΟΥ :  $\overline{\text{MEI}}$  :  $\overline{\text{H}}$  :  
 ἸΩΣΑΠΠΗΣ ΚΑΜΑΛ

2. ΤΩΟΥ: Τὼω occurs twice in these ostraca and twice in KRALL (CXXXVII, CCXXXII), both times as in the Heracleopolite nome. Presumably WESSELY *Studien*, X, no. 44, 7 (Heracl. nome) is another instance of the same place as in KRALL; but in P. Lips. 99, 19; P. Ryl. (Gr.) II 99, 2 we have Τεῶ in the Hermopolite nome, while in P. Oxy. 1746 the *χώρη* Τεῶ is placed in that of Aphroditopolis. The Τεῶ of P. Oxy. VII 1068, 17 cannot be localized; HUNT refers for the Hermopolite nome to BGU. 892, P. Lips. 99, 19, but as there is mention of the Arsinoite nome the Heracleopolite Τὼω is perhaps equally likely.

## 233.

ΟΩΘ :  $\overline{\Theta}$  : ΤΚΕΜΑΠ :  
 $\overline{\text{MEI}}$  :  $\overline{\text{KA}}$  : ΜΙΚ/  $\overline{\text{ZO}}$  :  
 ἸΩΣΑΠΠΗΣ ΚΑΜΑΛ  
 ΠΛΗΡΟΥ : ΦΟΥΗΥ :  
 5  $\overline{\text{MEI}}$  :  $\overline{\text{KH}}$  :

"Thoth 9. Tkeman: 21 large, 69 small measures. John, camel-driver; complete. Phoueu: 28 large."

1. ΤΚΕΜΑΠ : see 194, 1 note.

2.  $\overline{\text{KA}}$  :  $\text{A}$  is a correction.



4. ΠΛΗΡΟΥ: probably for  $\pi\lambda\eta\rho\eta\zeta$ , as an afterthought; it does not seem likely to be a place-name ("camel-driver from Plêrou"); cf. 255, 3.

ΦΟΥΗΥ: possibly the same as the Φῦς of P. Lond. V 1866 (Hermopolite nome), where the correct reading is Φῦς (see *Aegyptus* III 100).

## 234.

ΘΩΘ :  $\overline{\text{IA}}$  :

ΦΟΥΗΥ :

ΜΕΓ/ :  $\overline{\text{ΠΑ}}$  :

ἸΩ2ΑΠΠΗC

ΚΑΜΑΛ/

## 235.

P ΛΩΩΡ ΚΖ Ο . ΤΑΤΗ

ΟΙ/ ΜΙΚ/ •  $\overline{\text{Ξ}}$

ΠΙΟΝ : ΜΕΓ/  $\overline{\text{ΞΞ}}$

ΜΙΚ/

ἸΩ2ΑΠΠΗC ΚΑΜΑ/

1. Ο . ΤΑΤΗ: smudged and hardly legible. Ο is very uncertain; ε is possible. The name is not ΠΜ2ΑΤΕ (213) nor 2ΕΑΗ-2ΕΑΗ (237).

3. ΠΙΟΝ: cf. 56, 6 note. Considering some of the other localities whence wine comes, it seems likely that this is Medînet el-Fayyûm.

4. No figure has been inserted.

## 236.

P ΧΟΙΑΚ Γ ΠΙΟΝ

ΟΙ/ ΜΙΚ/ :  $\overline{\text{CM}}$  :

ΠΜ2ΑΤΕ :  $\overline{\text{ΚΟ}}$  :

ἸΩ2ΑΠΠΗC ΚΑΜΑ/

3. ΠΜ2ΑΤΕ: cf. 213, 4 note.

## 237.

P φλωφι :  $\overline{\text{IB}}$   
 2ΕΑΗ2ΕΑΗ  
 ΟΙ/ ΜΙΚ/  $\overline{\text{ΠΗ}}$  :  
 ΑΣΚΑΛΩΠΕ :  $\overline{\text{B}}$   
 5 ἸΩ2ΑΠΗC ΚΑΜΑΛ/

2. 2ΕΑΗ2ΕΑΗ : cf. Ἀλῆλῆς (Heracleopolite nome), P. Hib. I, p. 8, or τ2ΕΑ2ΕΑCΙ. P. Lond. IV 1419, 1241, 1243, 1259; but neither is very likely.

## 238.

P ΘΩΘ :  $\overline{\text{KH}}$  :  
 ΠΛΕΒΙΩΟΥ :  
 ΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ/ :  $\overline{\text{MH}}$  :  
 ἸΩ2ΑΠΗC ΚΑΜΑΛ/

2. ΠΛΕΒΙΩΟΥ : cf. 212, 2 note.

## 239.

P ΠΛΟΠΕ :  $\overline{\text{Z}}$  :  
 ΤΙCΥΜΟΥΛΟΤ  
 ΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ/ :  $\overline{\text{I}}$  :  
 ἸΩ2ΑΠΗC ΚΑΜΑΛ/

2. ΤΙCΥΜΟΥΛΟΤ : this (an abnormal form) rather than ΠCΥΜΟΥΛΟΤ. seems to be the reading; and cf. 310 and 323. No doubt Samalût, 15 miles N. of Minyah. On a stele ΤCΓΜΟΥΛΟΤ (TURAIEFF *Christ. Vost.* I 48). Cf. P. Lips. 99, 16, WESSELY *Stud.* III, no. 300, Σερμολῶ (Hermopolite nome). V. also the note on the Cosmas-Damianus fresco, in the Introduction, p. 13.

## 240.

P ΘΩΘ  $\overline{\text{IA}}$  ΘΑΛΛΑ/  
 ΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ/ :  $\overline{\text{N}}$   $\overline{\text{Z}}$   
 ΜΙΚ/  
 space  
 ἸΩ2ΑΠΗC ΚΑΜ[ΑΛ/]

3. ΜΙΚ/ : no number has been inserted.

## 241.

P OΩΘO : IH :  
 OAAAOY :  
 OI/ MEΓ/ : AH :  
 IΩ2AΠΠHC :  
 KAMAA

## 242.

P OΩΘO : IH :  
 OAAAOY :  
 OI/ MEΓ/ Π :  
 IΩ2AΠΠHC KAMAA

3. MEK': so written; 1. μκ(ρζ).

## 243.

P OΩΘO : KI  
 OAAAOY :  
 OI/ MIK' : PAB :  
 IΩ2AΠΠHC KAMAA

2 A letter has possibly been deleted after OAAAOY:

## 244.

P XOIAK : A  
 OI/ MIK' TP  
 KAM/  
 IΩ2AΠΠHC

## 245.

The next section consists of receipts addressed to Luke, who in 248 and 249 is described as ΛΟΥΚΑΣ ΠΡΑΠΕΔΑΝΟΥΧΑ (or ΜΟΛ/).

P OΩΘO : KH  
 KOY'AHY :  
 OI/ MEΓ/ : AH :  
 ΛΟΥΚΑΣ KAMAA

2. This recalls the Hermopolite village Παγγουλίαιου (probably nominative, P. Oxy. 998, 1147 etc.), the first part of which, Παγγυῖ, enters into other names thereabouts (*ib.* 899 etc.) Cf. perhaps El-Kulei'a, near Feshn. Nazlet Kuleib, near Deirut, seems too far south. It may be here noted that the martyr, Epime, whose *Acta* give us the Coptic form, Pankôleus, was really named Epimachos; cf. P. Lond. III p. 279 Ἐπίμαχος ὁ καὶ Ἀπίμαχος.

## 246.

P ΘΩΘ : ΚΘ : ΚΟΥΛΗΥ  
 ΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ/ : ΙΑ : —  
 ΠΜΣΑΤΕ : ΜΓ :  
 ΛΟΥΚΑΣ ΚΑΜΑΛ/

## 247.

P ΘΩΘ : ΚΘ :  
 ΠΜΣΑΤΕ : ΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ/ : Ι :  
 ΤΑΚΟΥΤΣ : ΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ/ ΚΗ :  
 ΛΟΥΚΑΣ ΚΑΜΑΛ/

1. ΚΘ : the cross-stroke of Θ has been omitted, so that the letter looks like ο.

2—3. These places occur together in 213 also.

## 248.

P ΘΩΘ ΠΙΑΠΑ/   
 ΤΜΟΥΝΙΜ : ΜΕΚ/ : Π  
 ΛΟΥΚΑΣ ΠΙΑΠΑΜΟΥΛ

1. ΠΙΑΠΑ/ : or ΠΙΑ ΠΑ/; cf. 283, 1, where the word precedes ΤΟΥΣΩ, and 293, 1, where it goes with ΤΜΟΥΝΙΜ. This suggests (as it is no necessary part of the names) that in all cases it may stand for ΠΙΑΠΑΡΕC, "the men of" (or ΠΙΑΠΑΡΙCΜΟC?); but this combination of Greek and Coptic would be a very strange one. In 174 however the same abbreviation appears to = ἀνδρισμός.

## 249.

4.  $\overline{\Theta\omega\theta} : \overline{\iota\epsilon} :$   
 $\overline{\tau\mu\omicron\gamma\eta\varsigma\iota\mu}$   
 $\overline{\omicron\iota} : \overline{\mu\epsilon\gamma} / [[\overline{\kappa\lambda}]]$   
 $\overline{\kappa\lambda}$   
 5.  $\overline{\lambda\omicron\gamma\kappa\alpha\varsigma}$   
 $\overline{\pi\mu\alpha\pi\iota\varsigma\alpha}$   
 $\overline{\mu\omicron\lambda}$

3.  $\overline{\kappa\lambda}$ : not  $\kappa\lambda$ , apparently. It is therefore not clear why the clerk deleted it; but perhaps he accidentally repeated the number and discovered his mistake later.

6f.  $\overline{\varsigma\alpha\mu\omicron\lambda}$ : *sic*.

## 250.

P.  $\overline{\Theta\omega\theta} : \overline{\iota\varsigma}$   
 $\overline{\tau\mu\omicron\gamma\eta\varsigma\iota\mu}$   
 $\overline{\omicron\iota} / \overline{\mu\epsilon\gamma} / : \overline{\lambda\beta} :$   
 $\overline{\lambda\omicron\gamma\kappa\alpha\varsigma}$   
 5.  $\overline{\kappa\alpha\mu\alpha\lambda}$

1.  $\overline{\iota\varsigma}$ :  $\varsigma$  is a corr., probably from  $\tau$ .

## 251.

$\overline{\Theta\omega\theta} : \overline{\iota\zeta} : \overline{\tau\mu\omicron\gamma\eta\varsigma\iota\mu}$   
 $\overline{\omicron\iota} : \overline{\mu\iota\kappa} / \overline{\xi} :$   
 $\overline{\lambda\omicron\gamma\kappa\alpha\varsigma} \overline{\kappa\alpha\mu\alpha\lambda}$

## 252.

$\overline{\Theta\omega\theta} : \overline{\Gamma} : -$   
 $\overline{\tau\kappa\epsilon\mu\alpha\pi}$   
 $\overline{\mu\epsilon\gamma} / \overline{\mu\varsigma} :$   
 $\overline{\lambda\omicron\gamma\kappa\alpha\varsigma} \overline{\pi\kappa\alpha}$   
 5.  $\overline{\mu\alpha\lambda\eta\tau\eta\varsigma}$

3.  $\overline{\mu\varsigma}$ : apparently in different ink from the rest, and probably added later; there does not seem to have been a deletion.



## 253.

ΘΩΘ :  $\overline{\Delta}$  : ΤΤΕΝΑΠ :

ΜΕΓ/ :  $\overline{ΜΗ}$  :

[[ $\overline{ΜΑΚ}$ ]] ΛΟΥΚΑΣ ΠΚΑΜΑΛ/

3.  $\overline{ΜΑΚ}$ : for Macarius see 261—278.

## 254.

This differs slightly in arrangement from the usual type. The name of the camel-driver comes immediately after the date and is accompanied by  $\vartheta(\iota\acute{\alpha})$ , while the place-name is inserted at the end. The different arrangement may be due simply to the difference of clerk; the hand is not the usual one.

P ΘΩΘ : ΚΖ Δ' ΛΟΥΚΑ

ΟΙ/ ΜΙΚ/ Π

ΤΑΡΟΥΧΩΣ

3. Tarouchis is not known, but *cf.* ΤΑ2ΡΟΥΧ in 218, etc.

## 255.

P  $\overline{\Theta\Omega\Theta}$  :  $\overline{ΚΔ}$  :

ΤΣΥΝ2ΩΡ : ΟΙ/ ΜΙΚ/ :  $\overline{Κ}$  :

ΠΛΗΡΟΥΙ —

ΟΜΟΙΩΣ ΤΑ2ΡΟΥΧ :

3 ΟΙ' ΜΙΚ/  $\overline{Π}$  :

ΛΟΥΚΑΣ ΚΑΜΑΛ,

3. ΠΛΗΡΟΥΙ: *sic*, apparently (for  $\pi\lambda\eta\rho\epsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ ); but possibly the stroke at the end is meant merely as part of the punctuation mark (Ι—). Cf. 233, 4.

## 256.

P  $\overline{\Theta\Omega\Theta}$  :  $\overline{ΚΖ}$

ΤΑ2ΡΟΥΧ

ΟΙ' ΜΕΓ/ :  $\overline{Ι}$  :

ΟΜΟΙΩΣ :

3 ΟΙ' ΜΙΚ/ :  $\overline{\Theta\Theta}$  :

ΛΟΥΚΑΣ ΚΑΜΑΛ/

## 257.

P  $\overline{\Theta\omega\Theta}$  :  $\overline{\kappa\Delta}$  :  $\Theta\lambda\lambda\lambda\upsilon\gamma$  :  
 OI MIK :  $\overline{\rho}$  :  
 ΛΟΥΚΑΣ ΚΑΜΑΛ/

2. MIK/: 1 looks as if it were written over a deletion. The clerk may have begun to write MEΓ/.

## 258.

P  $\overline{\Theta\omega\Theta}$  :  $\overline{\kappa}$  :  $\tau\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omega$   
 OI/ MEΓ/ :  $\overline{\mu}$  :  
 ΛΟΥΚΑΣ ΚΑΜΑΛ/

## 259.

$\Theta\omega\Theta$  :  $\overline{\tau}$  :  $\phi\omicron\upsilon\gamma\eta\gamma$   
 MEΓ/ :  $\overline{\mu}$  :  
 ΛΟΥΚΑΣ  
 ΚΑΜΑΛ/

## 260.

This receipt is exceptional in being not for wine but for  $\theta\alpha\lambda\lambda\iota$  (12), no article being specified. It may probably be for wheat; see introd. to 205, and cf. 189.

+ ΛΟΥΡ ΙΑ  
 ΛΟΥΚΑΣ  
 ΘΑΛΛΑ/ ΚΒ

## 261.

The receipts of this section are addressed to Macarius.

P  $\overline{\Theta\omega\Theta}$  ΚΘ ΙΑ/  
 ΤΑΚΟΥΤΗΣ  
 ΜΥΤ/ ΚΔ.  
 ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟ  
 ΚΑΜΟΥΑ

1. ΚΘ ΙΑ': it is not possible to read Κ Θ ΙΑ', *i. e.* "20, 9th indiction", but the 11th indiction may be intended; cf. 285, 1.

3. ΜΥΓ/ : = *μυγάλα*.

5. ΚΑΜΟΥΛ : probably = *καμηλίτης* rather than *καμούλα*.

## 262.

Ρ ΠΛΟΠΕ :  $\overline{\lambda}$  :

ΤΑΚΟΥΟΥΤΣ :

ΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ/ : ΚΔ :

ΜΑΚΑΡΕ ΚΑΜΑΛ/

## 263.

Ρ ΠΛΟΠΕ :  $\overline{\lambda}$  :

ΤΑΚΟΥΟΥΤΣ :

ΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ/ :  $\overline{\lambda\Delta}$  : ΠΛΗ/

ΚΟΥΛΗΥ : ΟΙ/ ΜΙΚ/ ΠΖ :

5 ΤΑΚΟΥΟΥΤΣ : ΟΙ/ ΜΙΚ/

$\overline{\Sigma\Gamma}$  :

ΜΑΚΑΡΕ ΚΔ

ΜΑΛ/

"Phaophi 1. Takoutes: wine, 14 large measures in full. Koulêu: wine, 57 small measures. Takoutes: wine, 63 small measures. Macarius, camel-driver."

3—4. So written in the original.

5. No doubt these *μικρά* were accidentally omitted above and inserted here when the mistake was discovered.

## 264.

Ρ ΠΛΟΠΕ :  $\overline{\xi}$  :

ΤΑΚΟΥΟΥΤΣ :

ΜΙΚ/ :  $\overline{\kappa}$  : ΠΛΗΡΟΥ :

ΤΩΟΥ : ΜΙΚ/ :  $\overline{\lambda\eta}$  :

5 ΜΑΚΑΡΕ ΚΑΜΑΛ/

## 265.

ΘΩΘ :  $\overline{\text{IA}}$  :ΤΟΥ<sup>2</sup>Ω :ΜΕΓ/ :  $\overline{\text{O}}$  :

ΜΑΚΑΡΕ

5 ΚΑΜΑΛ/

## 266.

P  $\overline{\text{ΘΩΘ}}$  :  $\overline{\text{IH}}$  :ΤΟΥ<sup>2</sup>Ω : ΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ/ :  $\overline{\text{AB}}$  :

ΜΑΚΑΡΕ ΚΑΜΑΛ/

## 267.

P  $\overline{\text{ΘΩΘ}}$  :  $\overline{\text{KA}}$  :ΤΟΥ<sup>2</sup>ΩΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ/ :  $\overline{\text{KA}}$  :

ΠΛΗΡΟΥ : —

5 ΤΧΙΤC :

ΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ/ :  $\overline{\text{IA}}$ 

ΜΑΚΑΡΕ

ΚΑΜΑΛ/

5 ΤΧΙΤC: see 215, 2 note.

## 268.

P  $\overline{\text{ΘΩΘ}}$  :  $\overline{\text{KI}}$  : ΘΑΛΛΟΥΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ/ :  $\overline{\text{AB}}$  :

ΜΑΚΑΡΕ ΚΑΜΑΛ/

## 269.

P  $\overline{\text{ΘΩΘ}}$  :  $\overline{\text{KA}}$  :ΘΑΛΛΟΥ : ΟΙ/ ΜΙΚ/  $\overline{\text{IA}}$  : 'ΠΛΗΡΟΥ :'

ΜΑΚΑΡΕ ΚΑΜΑΛ/

ΤCΥΠCΩP : ΜΙΚ/  $\overline{\text{I}}$  :5 ΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ/ :  $\overline{\text{IA}}$

## 270.

The ink of this receipt is extremely faint, and at the ends of lines decipherment is difficult.

Ρ ΘΩΘ : ΚΛ  
 ΤΣΥΝΣΩ[Ρ]  
 ΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ/ Ζ  
 ΟΜΟΙΩΣ ΜΙΚ/ [.]  
 5 ΜΑΚΑΡΕ ΚΑΜΑ[Λ/]

4. ΜΙΚ/[.]: the figure is quite obliterated.

## 271.

Ρ ΘΩΘ : ΚΖ : [  
 ΟΙ/ ΜΙΚ/ : ΡΠΕ [  
 ΜΑΚΑΡΕ ΚΑ[ΜΑΛ/]  
 ΠΛΕΒΙΩΟΥ : Μ[

2. ΡΠΕ[: perhaps only the usual : is lost. In l. 1 a place-name is required.

4. Μ[: a mere trace only remains, but ΜΙΚ/ or ΜΕΓ/ is the likely reading. For Plebiōw see 212, 2 note.

## 272.

Ρ ΘΩΘ : ΚΗ  
 ΠΛΕΒΙΩΟΥ  
 ΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ/ : ΛΗ :  
 ΜΑΚΑΡΕ ΚΑΜ/

## 273.

] : ΚΗ : ΠΛΕΒΙΩΟΥ  
 [ΟΙ/ Μ]ΕΓ/ : Γ : ΜΙΚ/ ΡΙ :  
 [Μ]ΑΚΑΡΕ ΚΑΜΑΛ/



## 274.

+ ΛΘΩΡ ΚΣ̄ ΣΙΟΥΟΤΗ  
 ΟΙ ΜΙΚ/ [[ΡΟΣ :]]  
 ΜΙΚ/ ΡΙΣ  
 ΜΑΚΑΡΕ ΚΑΜΑΛ/

1. ΣΙΟΥΟΤΗ: the name contains the word for "herbs", "greens".

## 275.

This ostracon may be compared with 196—198, 203; but its form, which, as with the other ostraca beginning with a date, suggests a receipt, makes the present position the more appropriate.

+ ΤΥΒΙ : Λ  
 2ΛΘΕ  
 ΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ/ : Κ  
 ΑΣΚΑΛΟΝΕ : ΠΣ  
 5 ΚΚΕΥΕ Π2ΑΛΟΜ : Ε  
 4ΠΡ : ΙΘ  
 ΜΑΚΑΡΕ

"Tybi 4th. Hage(1). Wine, large 20. Askalone (jars) 56. Pots of cheese 5. Baskets(2) 19. Macarius."

## 276.

P ΛΘΩΡ Κ ΠΙΟΜ [   
 ΟΙ/ ΜΙΚ/ ΛΗ [   
 ΜΑΚΑΡΕ ΚΑ[ΜΑΛ/]

(1) AMÉLINEAU, *Géogr.* 191 was not able to locate this. MUNIER, *Ann. du Serv.* 1917, 163, suggests the neighbourhood of Zawiet al-Amwât, 4 m. SE. of Minyah, where a gravestone naming it was found. Paris 129<sup>15</sup>, 24 calls it "a large village in the nome of Shmûn" (cf. LEMM, *Kopt. Misc.* no. XXXIII). In KRALL, CCXLII ΤΩ2Ω Π2ΛΘΕ suggests طهانشبه Tahanshabâ (so Ibn Duqmâk and *Al-Tuhfa*) now Tahnashâ, 5 m. SW. of Minyah, assuming metathesis of *h* and *sh* = *σ*. (Such equivalents as S. 2ΛΘΠΙ = B. ΛΩΠΙ support this suggestion.) Hage occurs in several of our stelae. [Αχις,] Αχέω; in the Hermopol. nome, WESSELY X, 190 etc., seems in KRALL LII to correspond to 2ΛΘΙΕ (doubtless 2ΛΘΕ); while Νήσο; Αχέω; (WESSELY XX, 147) should be the ΤΜΟΥΠ2ΛΘΕ, Ryl. 132 n. Θμου-*vaχῆ*, Heracleop. nome, is presumably different (P. Hibeh I, p. 8).

(2) Cf. 197. Baskets elsewhere contain bread.

1. ΠΙΟΜ [: the name is ΠΙΟΜ (cf. 235, 3 note) and probably nothing is lost either here or in l. 2 except perhaps the punctuation mark :.

277.

• ρ ΦΑΩΦΙ :  $\overline{\text{IB}}$  ·  
 2ΕΛΗ2ΕΛΗ :  
 ΟΙ/ ΜΙΚ/  $\overline{\text{ΠΗ}}$  :  
 ΜΑΚΑΡΕ ΚΑΜΑΛ

2. 2ΕΛΗ2ΕΛΗ: see 237, 2 note.

278.

+ ΜΕCΟΡΗ  
 Λ . Δ/ ΜΑΚ/  
 ΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ/ Λ

3. Λ: after this there is a smudge. Probably a letter (ε?) was written and then washed out.

279.

The following receipts are addressed to a camel-driver whose name, ΚΟΛΘΕ, ΚΟΥΛΘΕ, or ΚΟΛΘΗ, is a common form of Colluthus. He is frequently described as ΚΟΛΘΕ ΠΑΠΟΥΟΤΕ; sometimes the second name is omitted, and twice it is replaced by ΚΑΜΟΥΛ. If that represents ΚΑΜΟΥΛΑ a different person may be meant, but more probably it is for the more usual ΚΑΜΑΛ/, i. e. καμηλίτης; cf. 261.

ΘΩΘ :  $\overline{\Gamma}$  :  
 ΤΓΕΜΛΗ  
 ΜΕΓ/  $\overline{\text{Η}}$  :  
 ΚΟΛΘΕ ΠΑΠΟΥ  
 5 ΟΟΤΕ · ΟΜΟΙΩC  
 ΜΙΚ/  $\overline{\Lambda}$  ·

4f. ΠΑΠΟΥΟΤΕ: "the vegetable gardener", presumably the monk so employed, as in *Vita Sinuth.* (CSCO. 41, 63; cf. *ib.* 73, 44).

See Plate II.

280.

 $\overline{\Theta\Omega\Theta}$  :  $\Lambda$  :

ΤΚΕΜΛΗ :

ΜΕΓ/ : Η :

ΚΟ[[Λ]]ΛΘΕ ΠΑΠΟΥΟΤΕ

5 ΟΜΟΙΩΣ : ΜΙΚ/ :  $\overline{\Lambda}$  :

at the other end, in the opposite direction and in a different hand: —

. . . . .  
ΘΩ[Θ

ΛΠΑ 2. [

281.

ΘΩΘ :  $\overline{\varsigma}$  :

ΤΚΕΜΛΗ : —

ΜΕΓ/ :  $\overline{\Pi}$  :

ΚΟΛΘΕ ΠΑΠΟΥΟΤΕ

5 ΟΜΟΙ/ ΜΙΚ/ :  $\overline{\Lambda}$  :

282.

ΘΩΘ :  $\overline{\Pi}$  :

ΤΚΕΜΛΗ :

ΜΕΓ/ :  $\overline{\Pi}$  :

ΚΟΛΘΕ ΠΑΠΟΥ

5 ΟΟΤΕ :

283.

P  $\overline{\Theta\Omega\Theta}$  : ΠΗ : ΠΛΗΛ.

ΤΟΥΣΩ : ΜΥΤ/ : Η :

ΚΟΥΛΘΕ ΚΑΜΟ

ΥΛ

1. ΠΛΗΛ./ : the η is written over the λ, and probably the whole word is a later addition. This gives some support to the

explanation as = "the men of" suggested in the note on 24<sup>o</sup>, 1; the word was not absolutely necessary and might have been omitted without much affecting the sense. This explanation would show that the scribe thought in Coptic, not in Greek.

2. ΜΥΓ : = μεγάλη.

3 f. ΚΑΜΟΥΛ : see the introduction to 279.

## 284.

Ρ  $\overline{\Theta\Omega\Theta}$  :  $\overline{\text{I}\Theta}$  :  
 ΤΟΥ<sup>2</sup>Ω :  
 ΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ/ :  $\overline{\text{H}}$  : :  
 ΚΟΛΘΕ ΠΑΠΟΥΟΤΕ :

## 285.

Ρs  $\overline{\Theta\Omega\Theta}$  ΚΟ  $\overline{\text{I}\Lambda}$   
 ΤΑΚΟΥΤΗΣ  
 ΜΥΓ/ 5  
 ΚΟΥΛΘΕ : ΚΑΜΟΥΛ

1. The potsherd is broken after  $\overline{\text{I}\Lambda}$ , but probably nothing is lost.  $\overline{\text{I}\Lambda}$  would appear to be the number of the indiction; cf. 261, 1.

## 286.

+  $\overline{\Theta\Omega\Theta}$   $\overline{\text{I}\Lambda}$   
 ΤΜΟΥ :  
 ΜΕΓ/ : Η  
 ΚΟΛΘΗ

2. ΤΜΟΥ : not ΤΩΟΥ. Probably to be equated with the ΤΜΟΥ of KRALL, CCXLVI, 7, which occurs along with Thône (Hermopolite nome). But cf. Edmû, 5 miles N. of Minyah, and perhaps Ryl. 401, Arab. l. 3. Several places named Νῆσοις (the translation of ΤΜΟΥ) are recorded, e. g. in Ryl. 223. ΤΜΟΥ might however be but an abbreviated form of a compound name, such as Tmounsîm.

## 287.

 $\overline{\Theta\omega\Theta} : \overline{\iota\varsigma}$ 

ΤΜΟΥΗΣΙΜ

ΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ/ :  $\overline{\eta}$ 

ΚΟΛΘΕ ΠΑΠ

5 [Ο]ΥΟΟΤΕ

## 288.

P  $\overline{\Theta\omega\Theta} : \kappa$ 

ΤΑΡΟΥΧ

ΜΥΚ/ ΚΑ

ΚΟΥΛΘΕ

2. ΤΑΡΟΥΧ: no doubt = ΤΑΞΡΟΥΧ; cf. 218, 2 and note.

3. ΜΥΚ/: κ is perhaps a correction, as there is a character (like ζ in form) before and partly covered by it. Perhaps μεγῆλα, rather than μικρά, is meant (ΜΥΓ/).

## 289.

 $\overline{\Theta\omega\Theta} : \overline{\Theta}$ 

ΦΟΥΗΥ :

ΜΕΓ/ :  $\overline{\eta}$ 

ΚΟΛΘΕ ΠΑΠ

5 ΟΥΟΟΤΕ : —

## 290.

The following section consists of receipts addressed to a camel-driver called Joseph.

 $\overline{\Theta\omega\Theta} : \overline{\iota\lambda}$ 

ΦΟΥΗΥ :

ΜΕΓ/ :  $\overline{\iota\Theta}$  : ΠΑΗ

ἸΩΣΗΦ ΚΑΜΑ/

5 ΤΟΥΞΩ :

ΜΕΓ/ :  $\overline{\lambda\Gamma}$  :



"Thoth 11. Phouêu: 19 large measures in full. Joseph, camel-driver. Touhō: 33 large measures."

3.  $\overline{\text{I}\Theta}$ :  $\Theta$  corrected from  $\lambda$ .

## 291.

This ostrakon is a palimpsest (if the word can properly be used in this connection), an earlier text having been washed out. Many individual letters are still visible, but no consecutive sense can be made out. The last line visible perhaps reads  $\Theta\lambda\lambda/\ \mu\ \pi\pi\pi\pi\gamma\theta\iota\varsigma$  . . .

Ρ  $\overline{\Theta\omega\theta}$  :  $\overline{\text{I}\text{H}}$  :

$\text{TOY}\zeta\omega$  :  $\text{OI/ MEG/ : } \overline{\lambda\varsigma}$  :

$\text{I}\omega\text{CH}\phi$   $\kappa\alpha\mu\alpha\lambda\text{/}$

## 292.

$\overline{\Theta\omega\theta}$  :  $\overline{\text{KE}}$  :  $\text{TA}\zeta\text{POY}\chi$  .

$\text{OI/ MEG/ } \overline{\text{MH}}$  :

$\text{I}\omega\text{CH}\phi$   $\kappa\alpha\mu\alpha\lambda\text{/}$  :

$\text{MHNA T}\chi\text{ITC}$  :  $\text{MEG/ : } \overline{\Gamma}$   $\text{MIK/ } \overline{\Gamma}$  :

2. After  $\text{MEG/}$  something has been washed out,  $\overline{\text{MH}}$  being written further on, with a space between it and  $\text{MEG/}$ .

4.  $\text{MHNA T}\chi\text{ITC}$ : apparently the consignor of this wine; "Menas of Tjites."

## 293.

Ρ  $\overline{\Theta\omega\theta}$  :  $\text{MHNA/}$

$\text{TMOY}\text{NCIM}$  :  $\text{MEG/ } \bullet \overline{\text{O}\varsigma}$  :

$\text{I}\omega\text{CH}\phi$   $\kappa\alpha\mu\alpha\lambda\text{/}$

1.  $\text{MHNA/}$ : cf. 24δ, 1 note.

## 294.

Ρ  $\phi\lambda\omega\phi\text{I}$  :  $\overline{\text{I}\Gamma}$  :

$\text{ΠO}\lambda\lambda\text{OY}\text{CN}$  .

$\text{OI/ MEG/ : } \overline{\text{MH}}$  :

$\text{KE MIK/ } \overline{\lambda\Delta}$  :

5  $\text{I}\omega\text{CH}\phi$   $\kappa\alpha\mu\alpha\lambda\text{/}$

2. ΠΟΛΛΟΟΥ<sup>—</sup>ΠΗ: I letter after η would give a more reasonable form to the name but nothing more has been written. A place in P. Flor. I 2, 5, 19, begins with ΠΟΛ-; perhaps = ΠΟΥΛ, which may be for ΠΟΥΛΕ-, "settlement", found in some place-names.

4. ΚΕ: ΚΕ, "other"? or for καί? Cf. 22δ, 4.

## 295.

Π ΘΩΘ : ΚΓ :  
ΟΑΛΛΟΥ :  
ΟΙ/ ΜΙΚ/ ΠΗ :  
ΪΩΧΗΦ ΚΑΜΑΛ/

## 296.

Π ΘΩΘ Γ ΟΡΓ/  
ΠΕCICY Δ/ Λ ΪΩ  
ΗΦ ΚΑΜΑΛ/  
ΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ ΠΒ.

1 f. ΟΡΓ/ ΠΕCICY : see 345—354 and 99 note.

2. Δ/ Λ: perhaps this is another way of indicating the 1st φερρά; or just possibly it = δια alone.

ΪΩΗΦ: *sic*.

## 297.

The hand of this receipt is very bad, and the ink has run; hence some of the readings are doubtful.

ΜΕCOP ΚΘ  
ΪΩCΕΦ ΓΑΜΑΛ/  
ΓΑΜΙΑ/ Ϊ Λ  
ΦΟΡ/ CΟΥΡΟΥΡ  
5 ΠΒ Ν<sup>ο</sup>/

3. ΓΑΜΙΑ/: 1. γαγγίλ(ιx); cf. 36I, 2.

ΪΛ: probably Ϊ = ιο, going with ΓΑΜΙΑ/, Λ = ιστ, going with φερ(ᾱς); but see below.

4.  $\phi\omicron\gamma\rho\omicron\gamma\rho$ : as it is followed by a number this should be a measure, not a name; unless  $\phi\omicron\rho/$  is the measure, separated for some reason from the number. In that case we must read  $\overline{\iota\alpha}$  (11) in l. 3. The nearest name is  $\kappa\alpha\rho\omicron\gamma\rho$ . But possibly we may translate: "Joseph, camel-driver, 10 camel-loads; 1st convoy, Gourour, 102 only."

## 298.

The following series consists of receipts addressed to a camel-driver called Mathias.

$\theta\omega\theta : \overline{\iota\alpha} :$   
 $\tau\omicron\gamma\zeta\omega$   
 $\mu\epsilon\gamma/ : \overline{\alpha\eta} :$   
 $\mu\alpha\theta\iota\alpha\varsigma \kappa\alpha\mu\alpha/$

## 299.

P  $\theta\omega\theta : \overline{\kappa} :$   
 $\tau\omicron\gamma\zeta\omega :$   
 $\omicron\iota/ \mu\epsilon\gamma/ : \overline{\mu\varsigma}$   
 $\mu\alpha\theta\iota\alpha\varsigma \kappa\alpha\mu\alpha\lambda/$

## 300.

P  $\overline{\theta\omega\theta} : \overline{\kappa\alpha}$   
 $\tau\omicron\gamma\zeta\omega$   
 $\omicron\iota/ \mu\epsilon\gamma/ : \overline{\xi} :$   
 $\mu\alpha\theta\iota\alpha\varsigma$   
 $\kappa\alpha\mu\alpha\lambda/$

5

## 301.

P  $\lambda\omicron\omega\rho \overline{\kappa\iota} \overline{\mu\iota\omicron\mu}$   
 $\omicron\iota/ \mu\iota\kappa/ \overline{\rho\pi\varsigma} \overline{\alpha}$   
 $\mu\alpha\theta\iota\alpha\varsigma \kappa\alpha\mu\alpha\lambda$

2.  $\overline{\rho\pi\varsigma} \overline{\alpha}$ : presumably  $186\frac{1}{4}$ , but the last character is much more like  $\lambda$  than  $\alpha$ , and just possibly the 1st  $\varphi\varphi\alpha$  is meant.



## 307.

The following series consists of receipts addressed to a camel-driver named Enoch.

ΘΩΘ :  $\overline{\text{IA}}$  : ΤΟΥΖΩ

ΜΕΓ/ :  $\overline{\text{NB}}$  :

ΕΠΩΧ

ΚΑΜΑΛ/

## 308.

Ρ  $\overline{\text{ΘΩΘ}}$  :  $\overline{\text{KΓ}}$  : ΤΟΥΖΩ : —

ΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ/ :  $\overline{\text{H}}$  : —

ΟΜΟΙΩΣ ΘΑΛΛΟΥ :

ΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ/ :  $\overline{\text{ΛS}}$  :

5 ΕΠΩΧ ΚΑΜΑΛ/

## 309.

Ρ  $\overline{\text{ΘΩΘ}}$  :  $\overline{\text{IH}}$  .

ΘΑΛΛΟΥ :

ΟΙ/ ΜΙΚ/  $\overline{\text{ΛH}}$  :

ΕΠΩΧ ΚΑΜΑΛ/

## 310.

Ρ ΠΛΟΠΕ :  $\overline{\text{H}}$  : ΤΣΥΜΟΥΛΟΤ

ΟΙ/ ΜΙΚ/  $\overline{\text{Λ}}$  :

ΕΠΩΧ ΚΑΜΑΛ/

ΘΑΛΛΟΥ : ΜΙΚ/  $\overline{\text{S}}$  :

1. ΤΣΥΜΟΥΛΟΤ: the 2nd  $\gamma$  is here made like  $\chi$  but probably this is an accident, as  $\gamma$  is the reading in 239 and 323; see the note on the former.

## 311.

Ρ  $\overline{\text{ΘΩΘ}}$  :  $\overline{\text{KZ}}$  :

ΠΛΕΒΙΩΟΥ

ΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ/ :  $\overline{\text{IH}}$  .

ΕΠΩΧ ΚΑΜΑΛ/



## 312.

Ρ  $\overline{\Theta\omega\theta}$  :  $\overline{\kappa\eta}$  :  $\overline{\kappa\omicron\gamma\lambda\eta\gamma}$   
 ΟΙ/  $\overline{\mu\epsilon\gamma}$  :  $\overline{\mu\alpha}$  :  $\overline{\mu\iota\kappa}$ /  $\overline{\lambda}$  :  
 ΕΠΩΧ ΚΑΜΑΛ/

1.  $\overline{\kappa\omicron\gamma\lambda\eta\gamma}$ : see 245, 2 note.

3.  $\overline{\mu\alpha}$ : a correction.

## 313.

Ρ  $\overline{\Theta\omega\theta}$  :  $\overline{\kappa\zeta}$  :  $\overline{\tau\lambda\sigma\rho\omicron\gamma\chi}$   
 ΟΙ/  $\overline{\mu\epsilon\gamma}$ / :  $\overline{\kappa}$  :  
 ΕΠΩΧ ΚΑΜΑΛ/

## 314.

The next three receipts are addressed to a camel-driver called Serenus.

Ρ  $\overline{\Theta\omega\theta}$  :  $\overline{\iota\lambda}$  :  $\overline{\tau\mu\omicron\gamma\eta\sigma\iota\mu}$   
 ΟΙ/  $\overline{\mu\epsilon\gamma}$ / :  $\overline{\eta}$  :  
 ΣΕΡΗΝΕ ΚΑΜΑΛ/

3. :  $\overline{\eta}$ : the traces before  $\overline{\eta}$  perhaps suggest a letter rather than :, but 140  $\mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha$  (the minimum number we could then suppose) is more than would be expected, and for :  $\overline{\eta}$  : see 315.

## 315.

Ρ  $\overline{\Theta\omega\theta}$  [  
 $\overline{\pi\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\omega\theta\omicron\gamma}$   
 ΟΙ/  $\overline{\mu\epsilon\gamma}$ / :  $\overline{\eta}$  :  
 ΣΕΡΗΝΕ ΚΑΜΑΛ/

## 316.

A receipt for dates, not for wine.

+  $\overline{\lambda\omicron\upsilon\rho}$  :  $\overline{\eta}$   
 $\overline{\sigma\epsilon\rho\eta\eta\omicron\varsigma}$   
 $\overline{\phi\omicron\eta\eta\kappa}$ /  
 $\overline{\theta\lambda\lambda\lambda}$ /  $\overline{\kappa\beta}$

## 317.

The next three receipts are addressed to a camel-driver called Pamoun, who in 319 appears as ΠΑΜΜΟΥΝ ΠΜΑΠΓΑΜΟΥΛ.

Ρ ΘΩΘ : Η :  
 ΤΚΕΜΑΝ ·  
 ΜΕΓ/ : ΚΒ :  
 ΠΑΜΟΥΝ ΚΑ  
 ΜΗΛΙΤΗΣ

5

## 318.

ΘΩΘ : Θ : ΦΟΥΝΥ :  
 ΜΕΓ/ : Η :  
 ΠΑΜΟΥΝ ΚΑΜΑΛ/

## 319.

+ ΘΩΘ ΙΘ  
 ΦΟΥΣΥ : ΠΑΜ  
 ΜΟΥΝ ΠΜΑΠ  
 ΓΑΜΟΥΛ —  
 ΜΕΓ/ : Η

5

1. ΙΘ : or less probably : Θ, the ink of : having run.

4. — : *sic*.

## 320.

The next five receipts are addressed to a camel-driver named Paêse.

Ρ ΘΩΘ : ΚΘ : ΚΟΥΛΗΥ ·  
 ΟΙ/ ΜΙΚ/ Μ : ΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ/ ΙΔ.  
 ΠΑΗΣΕ ΚΑΜΑΛ/

## 321.

Ρ ΘΩΘ : ΚΖ :  
 ΤΑΞΡΟΥΧ :  
 ΟΙ/ ΜΙΚ/ [  
 ΠΑΗΣΕ Κ[ΑΜΑΛ/]

## 322.

P  $\overline{\text{O}\omega\theta}$  :  $\overline{\kappa}$ ΤΟΥ<sup>2</sup>Ω :ΟΙ/  $\overline{\text{MEΓ}}$ / :  $\overline{\lambda}$  :

ΠΑΗΣΕ ΚΑΜΑΛ/

3.  $\overline{\text{MEΓ}}$ / : so written.

## 323.

ΤΕΪΩΜΟΥΝΕ ΠΟΣ ΗΤ[

(2nd hand) P ΠΛΟΠΕ :  $\overline{z}$  :

ΤΣΥΜΟΥΛΟΤ :

ΟΙ/  $\overline{\text{MEΓ}}$ / :  $\overline{\text{MH}}$  :

5

ΠΑΗΣΕ ΚΑΜΑΛ/

1. It may be doubted whether this has any connexion with the rest. The meaning is "These eight big . . .".

3. ΤΣΥΜΟΥΛΟΤ : see 239, 2 note.

## 324.

P ΦΔΩΦΙ :  $\overline{\text{IE}}$ ΤΣΥΠ<sup>2</sup>ΩΡΟΙ/ ΜΙΚ/  $\overline{\text{OZ}}$  :

ΠΑΗΣΕ ΚΑΜΑΛ/

## 325.

The next three receipts are addressed to a camel-driver called Cyriacus.

[+ Ο]ΩΘ  $\overline{\kappa}$ 

ΘΑΛΟΥ

ΟΙ ΜΙΚ/  $\overline{\text{P}}$  .

MEΓ/

5

ΚΥΡΙΑΚΩΣ ΚΑΜΑΛ/

$\overline{\text{MEΓ}}$ / : the quantity has not been inserted.

## 326.

ⲡ ⲑⲱⲑ : ⲕⲓ̅ :  
 ⲑⲁⲗⲗⲟⲩ :  
 ⲟⲓ/ ⲙⲉⲓ/ : ⲓ̅ :  
 ⲕϩⲣⲁⲕⲟⲥ  
 5 ⲕⲁⲙⲁⲗ/

## 327.

ⲑⲱⲑ : ⲕⲓ̅ :  
 ⲑⲁⲗⲗⲟⲩ :  
 ⲟⲓ/ ⲙⲉⲓ/ : ⲓ̅  
 ⲕϩⲣⲁⲕⲟⲥ ⲕⲁⲙⲁⲗ/

## 328.

This receipt is addressed to Pmatoï (which should be "the soldier", but it is a proper name here, and ⲡⲙⲁⲩⲟⲓ does not seem to occur elsewhere).

ⲡ ⲑⲱⲑ : ⲓ̅ :  
 ⲧⲙⲟϩⲛⲥⲓⲙ :  
 ⲟⲓ/ : ⲙⲉⲓ/ : ⲡⲓ̅  
 ⲡⲙⲁⲩⲟⲓ  
 5 ⲕⲁⲙⲁⲗ/

## 329.

This receipt is addressed to a camel-driver named Andrew.

ⲑⲱⲑ ⲕⲉ  
 ⲁ/ ⲁⲛⲁⲣⲉⲁⲥ  
 ⲕⲁⲙⲁⲗⲓⲩⲟⲩ . / ⲟⲓⲛⲟⲩ  
 ⲕⲛⲓⲁ : ⲟⲓ : ⲫⲟⲣ ⲓⲃ

## 330.

This receipt is addressed to Moses, who is not described as a camel-driver but very likely was one — unless ⲙⲱϩⲛⲥ is to be taken as the name of an estate or of the consignor, as another quantity follows it.

P  $\overline{\Theta\omega\Theta}$  :  $\overline{\kappa\lambda}$  :  
 $\tau\lambda\sigma\rho\upsilon\chi$  :  
 OI/  $\overline{\mu\kappa}$ /  $\overline{\mu\lambda}$  :  
 $\mu\omega\gamma\chi\eta\varsigma$   $\overline{\mu\kappa}$ /  $\xi$  .

3.  $\overline{\mu\lambda}$  : or  $\overline{\mu\lambda}$ ; the second letter is not exactly like either the  $\lambda$  in l. 1 or the  $\lambda$  in l. 2.

## 331.

In this fragmentary receipt the date is immediately followed by a personal name preceded by  $\varepsilon$  (:z), but probably it belongs to the present series, and the name is to be taken as that of a camel-driver.

P  $\overline{\Theta\omega\Theta}$  I  $\overline{\lambda}$ /  $\overline{\kappa\omega\eta}$ [ $\sigma\tau\alpha\pi\tau\eta\eta\varsigma$   
 $\mu\epsilon\gamma$   $\overline{\mu\eta}$   $\cdot$   $\overline{\mu\kappa}$ / [  
 blank  
 ] $\kappa$ [

## 332.

The series of receipts commencing with a date concludes with several in which the name of the camel-driver has either been lost or not been inserted. In the present case the name is lost.

+  $\overline{\Theta\omega\Theta}$  :  $\overline{\kappa\Theta}$  :  
 $\tau\mu\sigma\lambda\tau\epsilon$   
 [OI/  $\mu\epsilon\gamma$ /  $\overline{\kappa\zeta}$

1. It is doubtful whether the cross was actually made at all.

## 333.

P  $\overline{\Theta\omega\Theta}$   $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$  :  
 $\tau\varsigma\gamma\eta\sigma\omega\rho$  :  
 OI/  $\mu\epsilon\gamma$ /  $\overline{\mu\eta}$  :



## 334.

Ρ ΦΑΩΦΙ  $\overline{\text{IE}}$   
 ΤΣΥΝ[ΣΩΡ]  
 ΟΙ/ Μ[

3. Μ[ : *i. e.*, Μ[ΕΓ/ or Μ[ΙΚ/.

## 335.

Ρ ΘΩΘ :  $\overline{\text{KZ}}$  :  
 ΤΛΣΡΟΥΧ·  
 ΟΙ/ ΜΙΚ/ :  $\overline{\text{PB}}$  :

3.  $\overline{\text{PB}}$  : B is probably a correction, and the traces of two dots above it suggest  $\bar{\text{I}}$  as the original figure.

## 336.

Ρ ΠΛΟΠΕ :  $\overline{\text{B}}$   
 ΤΛΚΟΥΟΥΤΣ :  
 ΟΙ/ ΜΙΚ/ :  $\overline{\text{KB}}$  ·

## 337.

Ρ ΠΛΟΠΕ :  $\overline{\text{Z}}$  : ΤΩΟΥ  
 ΟΙ/ ΜΙΚ/ :  $\overline{\text{VB}}$  : ΠΛΗΡΟΥ  
 ΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ/ :  $\overline{\text{H}}$

3. The pot is broken immediately below this, and a line giving the name of the camel-driver may well be lost.

## 338.

Ρ  $\overline{\text{ΘΩΘ}}$  :  $\overline{\text{KE}}$   
 ΤΛΡΟΥΧ  
 [Ο]Ι/ ΜΕΚ/ ΡΞΔ  
 ]ΚΑΜΟΥ  
 Λ

3. ΡΞΔ : probably a correction, and so perhaps l. 4.

4. Probably for ΚΑΜΑΛ = *καρχήλιτης*, but perhaps the name *καμοῦλα*. No camel-driver of this name is found in any of the other receipts, but in 319 ΠΑΜΜΟΥΗ ΠΜΛΠΚΑΜΟΥΛ occurs.

## 339.

Π ΟΩΘ : ΚΑ [

ΤΧΙΤΣ : [

Ο[1/

## 340.

ΦΛΩΦ/ Λ Δ/[

ΘΑΛΛ ΚΣ Σ . [

ΤΕΚΟ[ΠΤΑ

3. ΤΕΚΟ[ΠΤΑ : ΠΕΗ]]ΤΕΚΟ[ΠΤΑ, *i. e.* πεντήκοντα?

## 341.

This receipt, though placed in this series because it begins with the date, is really of a quite different type, and, as it includes at least two *ερασί*, was probably intended not for a camel-driver but for the consignor. The name in l. 2 must be that of the latter; the camel-drivers were named in ll. 6—7. In l. 8 the clerk probably signed.

+ ΟΩΘ[

Δ/ ΠΩΗ ΠΛΙ[

Β ΦΟΥΡ/ Ξ/ Η[

Γ ΦΟΥΡ/ Ο[1/?

5 ΓΙ/ Θ[

ΠΜΛΠΚΑΜ[ΟΥΛ

ΚΑΜ/[

ΚΟ . [

2. ΠΩΗ ΠΛΙ[ : if Η is correctly read, perhaps ΠΩΗ ΠΛΙ[ΩΤ, "Noah my father", or ΠΩΗ ΠΛΙ[ΟΜ, "Noah of the Fayyum"; but Η can be read equally with η and is perhaps favoured by the line above the letter.

3.  $\chi$ : presumably  $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ , the article not being specified.  
 5.  $\emptyset$ : =  $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\omicron\upsilon$ .  
 6.  $\overline{\text{NMANOCAM}}[\text{OY}\Lambda$ : plural, "the camelherds".

## 342.

+

ⲡ ⲉⲡⲓⲫ/ ⲛ ⲡ[

[ⲧ]ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲕⲟϥ[

ⲟⲓ/ ⲙⲓ[ⲕ/

. . . . .

2. [ⲧ]ⲉⲧⲣⲁⲕⲟϥ[: this is suggested by the complete letter in the middle and by the traces at each end of the preserved portion, but if  $\text{OI/} \text{MI}[\kappa/$  (a doubtful reading) is correct, a number is hardly wanted here, and in any case the number is not usually written out.

## 343.

This receipt is again of a divergent type. It includes payments on two successive days and was therefore perhaps not intended for the camel-driver. It is in a minuscule hand. The ink is very faint.

+ ⲙⲉⲥⲟⲣ<sup>H</sup> ⲕⲓ ⲕⲏ<sup>Δ</sup>/ ⲡ ⲕⲣ[

ⲙⲉⲥⲟⲣ<sup>H</sup> ⲕⲁ ⲁⲁⲕ<sup>O</sup>/ ⲓⲃ [

ⲕⲏ<sup>Δ</sup>/ ⲓⲃ ⲕⲟϥⲓ ⲙⲉ [

1. ⲕⲣ[: or ⲃⲣ[: not ⲕⲟ[ϥⲓ.

## 344.

The following receipt is exceptional, being a tax-receipt, with the date inserted, as usual in such documents, at the end of the body of the receipt, and, following it, a signature. It is a receipt for wine paid as tax by the monastery through its prior, or agent. A tax-receipt of different form is 369.

ΜΗΠΕΙ . . . (faded) . . . ΗΕΒΙΚΩ ΕΥΣΖΑΙ  
 ΜΠΑΙΚΑΙΟΝ ΜΠΜΟΝ/ ΠΑΠΑ ΘΩΜΑΣ  
 2/ΤΗΑΠΑ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΕ ΠΕΠΡ<sup>ο</sup> ΧΕΕΙΣ ΜΗΤΟΥΗ  
 ΠΣΑΤΣ ΠΗΡΠ ΑΠΧΙΤΟΥ ΠΤΟΟΤΚ ΣΑΠΑΛΗ  
 5 ΜΟCΙΟΝ ΠΠΕΙΩ2Ε ΠΤΑ2ΟΜΩ ΣΑΠΚΑΡ/ Μ  
 ΠΡΩΤΗΣ ΠΔ/ ΕΥΩΡΧ ΟΥΗ ΠΑΚ ΛΙCΜΗ ΠΙΕΗ  
 ΤΑΓΙΟΝ' ΕΕΙCΤΟΙΝΕΙ' ΕΡΟC ΕΓΡΑΦ ΘΩΘ Θ  
 ΠΠΔ/ Α + ΦΟΙΒΑΜΜΩΝ' ΕΛΤ'/ ΠΡ<sup>ο</sup>/ CΤΟΙΧ ΜΟΙ  
 ΤΩ' ΕΠΤΑΙ' ΩC ΠΡΟΚ/ +

"... and the . . . . honey(1), they (?) write(2) to the council of the monastery of Apa Thomas, though Apa Germanus, the agent(3), (saying,) Lo, 15 *hats* of wine we have received from you, on account of the tax <sub>5</sub> of the fields of Tathomô(4), for the crop of the 1st Indiction. For an assurance therefore to you I have drawn up this deed and assent thereto. Written Thôth 9, Indiction 1. Phoebammon, humble agent(5), I assent to the deed, as it is set forth."

## 345.

The next section consists of receipts which begin with the name of an ἔργαζον, *i. e.*, a field or estate. For this use of the word and of the similar *μετεχειρί*, see P. Lond. V 1690, 9, note; 1741, 5, note. Nos. 345—354 form a series by themselves, being all in the same hand, namely that of Menas, for whom see the introduction to 209. It is a rough, inelegant hand, and the Greek is bad. The receipts all follow the same

(1) ? *CAUEBICW* "honey dealers", though one expects here a tax official.

(2) The plur. in 4 suggests it here. Perhaps *ΕΠ-* "we (write)".

(3) This abbreviation in 164. *Προστέως* is supported by 375 and by a papyrus fragt. in this collection: ΠΑΙΚΑΙΟ]Η ΜΠΜΟΝΑΣΤ[ΗΡ]ΙΟΝ ΕΤΟΥΧΑΒ [name] Ε ΠΕΠΡΟCCTΩC ΛΙCΜΗ + ΛΙΑ[ΛΥCΙC ?; but *προνοητής* by KRALL CIII, BM. 1055 and Ryl. 125, and by various Greek texts: P. Oxy. 143, 1134, P. Lond. III. 1072, IV. 1310, V. 1782 etc. For this Germanus v. perhaps Ryl. 280.

(4) Hardly the female name Tathom + *ô* (not yet found as fem.), so presumably a place name.

(5) V. note 3. If we read "prior", we must assume this a transaction between two monasteries.

general scheme, though there are minor variations; *e. g.* the  $\epsilon\phi\phi\acute{\alpha}$  is not always mentioned and when mentioned varies in position. In some cases the only personal name (except that of the clerk Menas) which occurs is followed by  $\kappa\alpha\mu\alpha\lambda$ /; hence we may conclude that the name is always that of the camel-driver or other person who carried the wine. The place is always the same, Nesieu, so that Menas seems to have had a special connexion with that estate; and since we have already seen (introduction to 213) that there is some reason for regarding 209, also written by Menas, as a way-bill rather than a receipt, it may be conjectured that the ostraca of the present series are of the same character.

+ ΟΡΓΑΝΙΟ ΝΕΣΙΕΥ ΘΩΘ Α Β ΦΟΡ/ [[ $\lambda$  . . ΙΟ]]  
 Δ/ ΑΠΑ ΜΗΠΑ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥΩΝΕΛΗC  
 ΟΙ/ ΦΟΡ/ ΕΚΑΤΟΝ ΕΙΚΟΣΙ ΤΕΣΕΡΑ  
 ΓΙ/ ΟΙ/ Φ/ ΡΚΑ Μ° Δ/ ΜΗΠΟ  
 5 ΕΛΛΑΧ/ ΕΓΓΛ/

"Field of Nesieu. Thoth 1, 2nd convoy; by Apa Menas from Touô Neaniskôn: wine, a hundred and twenty-four phorai = wine, 124 ph. only. Written by the humble Menas."

1. ΝΕΣΙΕΥ: the name is properly ΝΕΣΙΕΥ. Here there seems to be no 1.

ΦΟΡ/: or perhaps ΦΟΡΑ (see 348, 2); but the stroke through ρ as a sign of abbreviation has been made, and probably the Α belongs to the deleted word.

2. ΤΟΥΩΝΕΛΗC: cf. 346, 2; 352, 4. There can be no doubt that the same place is meant throughout, but the reading is nowhere quite certain, and it seems clear that the spelling varies. Here ΤΟΥΩΝΕΛΗC or ΤΟΥΑΝΕΛΗC can be read; in 346 ΤΟΒΛΗ/ is the obvious reading, though ΤΟΩΛΗ/ is not quite impossible; in 352 ΤΟΥΑΝΕΛΗC or ΤΟΒΑΝΕΛΗC could equally be read. There can be little doubt that the name is the same as the ΤΟΥΩ ΝΕΛΗC of WESSELY, *Studien* X, 25, ΤΟΥ ΝΕΛΗC of BGU. II 553, B, III, 13, ΤΟΥ ΝΕΛΗCΩΝ of BGU. II 556, II, 7, and ΤΟΥ ΝΕΛΗCΟΥ of P. Lond. III, p. 111 (= MITTEIS,



*Chrest.* 199), all referring to the same place, a village in the Hermopolite nome.

## 346.

## Facsimile Plate II.

+ ΟΡΓΑΝΟΥ ΠΕΣΙΕΥ ΘΩΘ  
 Γ Δ ΑΠΑ ΜΗΠΑ ΑΠ<sup>Ο</sup> ΤΟΥΑΠ  
 Α ΦΟΡ ΟΙΠ<sup>Ο</sup> ΜΙΚΡ/ ΕΚΑΤΟΙ  
 ΟΒΤΟΜΗΚΟΝΤΑ ΔΥΟ Γ/  
 5 Γ/<sup>ΟΙ</sup> ΜΙΚΡ ΡΟΒ Μ<sup>Ο</sup>/ Α/ ΜΗΠ<sup>Ο</sup>  
 ΕΛ/ ΕΓΡ<sup>Α</sup>

"Field of Nesieu. Thoth 3; by Apa Menas from Touó Neaniskôn: 1st convoy. Wine, a hundred and seventy-two small measures = wine, 172 small measures only. Written by the humble Menas."

2. ΤΟΥΑΝ/: see 345, 2 note.

4. Γ/: possibly washed out.

## 347.

+ ΠΕΣΙΕΥ  
 ΘΩΘ Γ Γ Φ/ ΟΙ/ ΛΑΚ/  
 ΤΕΣΣΕΡΑΚΟΝΤΑ ΕΞ Γ/<sup>ΟΙ</sup> Α ΜΞ  
 Σ ΚΗΓΓ/ Π ΚΑΛ/ ΠΕΚΥΣΙΟΥ [[ΚΗ]]  
 5 ΚΗΠΤ/ ΤΡΙΑΚΟΝΤΑ Σ ΜΕΓΑΛ ΤΡΙΣ  
 ΓΙ ΚΗΠΤ/ Α Σ ΜΟΙΚ Γ Μ  
 Ø ΓΙ ΛΑΚ/ ΜΞ Σ ΚΗ/ ΛΗ  
 Σ ΜΟΙΚ/ Γ Δ/  
 ΜΗΠ<sup>Ο</sup> ΕΛ/ ΕΓΡ/

"Nesieu. Thoth 3, 3rd convoy. Wine, forty-six *lakka* = wine, 46 *lak.*, and 80 (*sic*) *enidia*. Kal( ) son of Pecysius: thirty *enidia* and 3 large measures = 30 *cn.* and 3 small measures only. Grand total, 46 *lak.* and 38 *cn.* and 3 small measures. Written by the humble Menas."

4. π: the reading is certain, but the arithmetic (see, however, l. 7, note) requires 8. This suggests that the receipt was

written with the day-book before the clerk, who misread an  $\eta$  as  $\pi$ .

6.  $\kappa\eta\tau\iota$ /: sic.

$\mu\omicron\iota\kappa$ /: =  $\mu\iota\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}$ . But l. 5 has  $\mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha$ . Possibly therefore  $\mu\omicron\iota\kappa$ / stands for  $\mu\omicron\eta$ / =  $\mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha$ .

7.  $\lambda\eta$ /: only a mere trace of the  $\eta$  remains, which might be part of: (though Menas does not use this). In the original copy however  $\eta$  was not marked as doubtful, and perhaps a piece of the pot has been chipped off since then.

8.  $\bar{\alpha}$ /: much more like  $\lambda$ , but  $\Delta$ / is wanted.

## 348.

+ οριανοῦ νεςιεύ

θωθ  $\bar{\alpha}$   $\lambda$  φορα οί/ σκευα

δεκαπεντε ομοί/ μετρ/ δεκαεξ

ομοί οί/ φ/ εζηκοῦντα δυο s μικρ<sup>ο</sup>/

5 επι  $\emptyset$  ιη/ σκευα ιε s μετρ, ις s φορ/

εβ s μικρ<sup>ο</sup>  $\bar{\alpha}$   $\bar{\lambda}$ / η<sup>ο</sup>/ μιν<sup>ο</sup> εγρ<sup>α</sup>

"Field of Nesieu. Thoth 1, 1st convoy. Wine, fifteen pots. Ditto, 16 measures(?). Ditto, wine, sixty-two phorai and 1 small measure. Grand total, 15 pots, 16 measures(?), 62 phorai and 1 small measure. Written by me, Menas."

2. σκευα: cf. 275, 5, σκευε. The word is no doubt σκευος; see the section on metrology in the introduction.

3. μετρ/: the reading is very uncertain, both here and in l. 5, but μορ/ (374) is not possible. ε seems fairly clear in l. 5, and it may be the only letter in both cases, but μερ/ would be obscure, and ερ, if cramped, is a not wholly impossible reading. But μετρ<sup>α</sup> do not elsewhere occur in these ostraca. They are a regular measure in P. Lond. IV.

6.  $\bar{\lambda}$ / η<sup>ο</sup>/: the  $\bar{\lambda}$ / makes  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$  impossible. Probably therefore  $\delta\iota\alpha$   $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ ; cf. 349.

349.

+ ΝΕΣΙΕΥ  
 [[Θ]] Λ. ΙΩ<sup>Α</sup> ΚΑΜΑΛ  
 [[ΘΩΘ]] ΣΠΑΓ<sup>Ο</sup> Α ΟΙ/ ΝΕΓ/  
 ΟΚΤΩΗΚ/ ΠΕΠΤΕ  
 5 ΓΙ/ ΟΙ/ ΝΕΓ/ ΠΕ  
 Σ ΜΙΚΡ ΛΥΟ  
 Α/ Μ<sup>Ο</sup> ΜΗΘ  
 ΕΓΡ<sup>Α</sup>

7. Α/ Μ<sup>Ο</sup>: cf. 348, 6, note.

350.

+ ΟΡΓ/  
 ΝΕΣΙΕΥ ΘΩΘ  
 ΣΠΑΓ/ Ε Α. ΙΩ<sup>Α</sup> ΚΑΜΑΛ/  
 ΟΡΓ<sup>Ο</sup> ΕΙΚΟCΙ Σ ΦΟΡ/ ΕΠ  
 5 ΓΙ/ ΟΡΓ/ Κ Σ ΦΟΡ/ Α Μ<sup>Ο</sup>/ ΜΗΘ  
 ΕΓΡ<sup>Α</sup>/

"Field of Nesieu. Thoth, 5th intercalary day, by John, camel-driver: twenty *orga* and one phora = 20 *org.* and 1 *phor.* only. Written by Menas."

351.

+ ΟΓΛΗΘ ΝΕΣΙΕΥ  
 ΘΩΘ ΣΠΑΓ/ Ε Α Φ/  
 Α/ ΙΩ<sup>Α</sup> ΠΕΡ<sup>Α</sup> ΚΑΜΑΛ/ ΚΚΕΥΕ ΕΙΚΟCΙ/  
 ΤΕCΕΡΑ Σ ΦΟΡ/ ΤΕCΕΡΑ  
 5 Σ ΓΙ/ ΚΚΕΥ<sup>Α</sup> ΚΑ Σ ΦΟΡ/ Α  
 Μ, ΜΗΘ ΕΓΡ<sup>Α</sup>/

"Field of Nesieu. Thoth, 5th intercalary day, 1st convoy, by John, of Pera (?), camel-driver: twenty-four pots and four phorai = 24 pots and 4 phorai only. Written by Menas."

1. ΟΓΛΗΘ: *sic.*

2. ε : perhaps a correction.

3. περ<sup>α</sup> : a place-name, as 354, 3 shows; cf. too 355, 3 note. παρ<sup>ο</sup> could be read in 354, but here ε is more likely than λ. A John παροογ occurs in 121, 2, and 122, 18, but παρ<sup>ο</sup> is not very likely here, though the same place may be meant.

σκεγε : for this measure (also written σκεγα) see 348, 2 note.

4. τεσερα : the clerk seems to have begun to write τεσερακοιτα; there are clear traces of the κ.

5. s γι/ : the clerk first wrote s φορ<sup>ο</sup>/, then wrote γι/ over φορ<sup>ο</sup>/ but did not delete s. σκεγα (the last two letters are very uncertain) is also a correction; perhaps too κλ s.

6. μη<sup>ο</sup> : corrected from μα.

## 352.

+ ογα<sup>ο</sup> πες[ιε]γ  
 θωθ επαγωμ<sup>ε</sup>/ ε  
 β φορ/ Δ/ μηπα λδεα/  
 απ<sup>ο</sup> τουωληε<sup>α</sup>ις οι/ φορ/  
 5 τεσερακοιτα εξ γι/ οι/ φορ/ μς μ<sup>ο</sup>/  
 μη<sup>ο</sup> ελ/ μοναζ/ εγρ<sup>α</sup>/

1. ογα<sup>ο</sup> : sic.

2. τουωληε<sup>α</sup>ις : see 345, 2 note.

## 353.

+  
 + ορι/ πεςιεγ θωθ επαγ/  
 ε γ φορ/ Δ/ απλ μηπα  
 οι/ φορ/ τεσερακοιτα  
 ομοι/ του αυτου τεσερακ/  
 5 εξ ομοι/ του αυτ/ τεσερ/  
 εξ θ γι/ παβ μ<sup>ο</sup>/  
 λ/ μηογ εγρ<sup>α</sup>/

"Field of Nesieu. Thoth, 5th intercalary day, 3rd convoy, by Apa Menas. Wine, forty phorai. Ditto, the same, forty-six. Ditto, the same, forty-six. Grand total 132 only. Written by Menas."

## 354.

+ ΟΡΓΑΝΟ ΠΕΡΙΕΥ  
 ΘΩΘ ΕΠΑΓ Ε Β ΦΟΡΑ/  
 Λ ΙΩΑ ΑΠΟ ΠΕΡΘ ΚΑΜΑΛ ΟΙ ΦΟΡ  
 ΠΕΠΗΚΟΠΤΑ ΔΥΟ  
 5 ΓΙ ΟΙ Φ ΠΒ Ν ΜΠΟΥ  
 ΕΛΙ ΓΙΡΑΦ

3. ΠΕΡΘ : see 351, 3, note.

5. ΠΒ : Β is a correction.

## 355.

The three ostraca 355—357 refer to an ἐργασιον called Ἀμπέλου, and in all three the names ΤΕΩΝΗ and ΠΑΡΟΥ (see notes) occur. The hand is probably, but not certainly, the same in all three.

+ ΟΡΓ/ ΑΜΠΕΛΟΥ  
 ΠΔ ΙΕ ΘΩΘ ΙΣ  
 Λ ΤΕΩΝΗ ΚΑ/ ΠΑΡΟΥ  
 Ε ΦΟΡ/ ΟΙ/ ΦΟΡ/ ΚΣ ΕΙΚΟΥ  
 5 ΣΣ ΕΞ : Λ ΩΡΟΣ +

"Field of the Vineyard. 15th indiction, Thoth 16, by Teshnê, allotment (?) of Parou, 5th (?) convoy : wine, 26 = twenty-six phorai. By Horus."

2. ΘΩΘ ΙΣ : the ι is doubtful and may be a flourish after ΘΩΘ (ΘΩΘ/), as in the two following receipts.

3. ΤΕΩΝΗ : a place name (KRALL CXXX and elsewhere) meaning "The Garden". Cf. Deshnê, between Farshût and Kenah, too far S. for these texts. It is curious that it should be preceded by ἐ(ε), which usually implies a person. Apparently



Teshnê must be a subdivision of ἔργανον Ἀμπέλου, forming part of the allotment of Parooû.

ΠΑΡΟΟΥ: recurs in 385; cf. Ryl. 303 verso, and perhaps P. Lond. IV, 1419, 171, ΠΑΡΟΒ, 658, 748, 947, 962, ΠΑΡΑΒ. B can hardly be read here.

4. ε̣ ΦΟΡ/: the ε̣ is probable, and this ostrakon is therefore an exception to the general rule that 3 is the highest number of φοράι; cf. 368 and, for a 4th φορά, probably 211.

## 356.

+ ΟΡΓ/ ΑΜΠΕΛΟ[Υ]  
 Θ ΠΛ/ ΘΩΘ/ ξ  
 [Α/] ΤΕΩΝΗ ΚΛ/ ΠΑΡΟΟΥ  
 ΦΟΡ [.] ΟΙ/ ΦΟΡ/ ΚΞ ΕΙΚ  
 5 ΟΥCΙ ΕΞ

4. ΦΟΡ [.] : the number usually precedes, as in 355, but here there is room for a letter between ΦΟΡ and ΟΙ/.

5. This line is very faint, but the letters given can be read with fair confidence. Whether Α/ ΩΡΟC followed is doubtful.

## 357.

[+ ΟΡΓ/ ΑΜ]ΠΕΛ/  
 [ΠΛ/ x ΘΩ]Θ/ ξ Α/ ΤΕΩΝΗ  
 [ΚΛ/ ΠΑΡΟ]ΟΥ . ΓΕΩΡΓΕ  
 [ΟΙ/ ΦΟΡ/?] ΕΞΗΚΟΝΤΑ +

3. After ΠΑΡΟ]ΟΥ is a stroke, apparently meant for a mark of punctuation.

## 358.

This concerns the ἔργανον Νοτίου. The personal name is that of a camel-driver; hence the ostrakon may be classed with 345—354.

+ ΟΡΓ ΠΟΤΗΟ  
 ΙΑ ΠΑ/ ΜΕCΟΡ/ Ζ  
 Α ΓΕΠΩΠΕ ΚΑΜΗΛ/  
 ΟΙ/ ΜΙΚ/ CΣ · CΙΑΚΟC  
 ΕΞ S ΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ· ΑΓ· ΤΡΙ  
 ΑΥΤΕΤΡΙΑ +  
 +

5. CΙΑΚΟC: *sic*, apparently; an attempt at διακόσια; cf. too ΤΡΙΑΥΤΕΤΡΙΑ in l. 5f. and the curious forms in 372. See p. 17.

## 359.

+ ΟΡΓ· Η[  
 Α/ ΚΟΛΛ/ [  
 ΙΑ S ΜΙΚ[/  
 ΜΕCΟΡ/ Κ[  
 ΑC CΤΟΙΧ[ΕΙ

1. η[ : perhaps η[ΟΤΗΟΥ, as in 358; less likely η[ΕCΙΕΥ, as the receipts from that ἔργων are all in the hand of Menas, which this one is not. This receipt is not in the same hand as 358.

## 360.

Next comes a series beginning with λόγ(ω). The first three all concern consignments from Pshi[n]berre (see note below) and are all in the same hand. The present one is for θαλ(λίχ) and σί(του) (ἀφ'ἑβου); the latter are not double the first, but as they are for a different place this is not a conclusive argument against the explanation suggested in the introduction to 205; nevertheless it is strange that if θαλλίον = 2 artabas both words should occur here, but in a different connexion. The present ostrakon is made up of two fragments.

P ΛΟΓ· ΠΩΙ  
 ΒΡΡC ΟΛΛ/ ΙΞ  
 ΛΟΓ· ΜΕCΟΥ ΠΑΙΩΤ  
 CΙ | Ο Π ΟΜ/ ΠΛΕΠC  
 5 ]· ··[

1. πωι βρρε : prob. = Σερβερερε, P. Flor. 1, p. 71, which is in the toparchy of Ἡερεῖ πῶλον ἔνω (Hermopolites). It perhaps recurs in BM. 1130, 14, though there it scarcely looks like a place. One is tempted to see it in the place transcribed Schnouâdeh by AMÉLINEAU, *Géogr.* 455; cf. J. MASPERO & G. WIET, *Matériaux*, p. 115.

4. ομ/ : probably ἐμοίω.

πασπε : qu. πασπε [ωΟΥ = ΠΑΣΒΙΩΟΥ (cf. 212, 2 note)?

## 361.

Two fragments.

Ρ ΛΟΓ/ πωι  
βρρε ΓΑΜΙ[Λ/]  
Θ ΘΑΛ 1 Δ/ [  
ΠΑΦ/ ΣΤΗΧ[ΕΙ  
5        επιφ/ z

2. ΓΑΜΙ[Λ/; cf. 93, 297 and 362; 1. χαμήλι(z).

3. Θ : a probable reading; "9 camel(-loads)".

4. παφ/ : perhaps the end only of a name, the beginning being lost in l. 3, but cf. 362, 3, where πα[φ is suggested by the remains; and not much is lost from the right side of the ostrakon.

5. z : hardly anything of the letter remains, but what is visible suggests z, for which cf. 362, 4.

## 362.

Two fragments.

Ρ ΛΟΓ/ πωι[1 βρρε]  
ΚΑΜΙΛ/ [  
ΘΑΛ/ 15 ΠΑ[φ/ ΣΤΗΧ]  
επιφ z [

3. πα[φ/ : cf. 361, 4, note.

## 363.

A receipt for corn.

Concave :

Π/ ΛΟΓ/ ΠΛΟΝ Π . [  
 ] CI |  $\overline{\text{O}}$  ΞΒ  
 ].Ε CI |  $\overline{\text{O}}$  Λ  
 ].[

Convex, in large script :

5 ] Θ Π/ CI |  $\overline{\text{O}}$  CΛ[

1. ΠΛΟΝ Π.[: "brother P . ."
2. ΞΒ : a correction.

## 364.

It is not certain that this ostrakon properly belongs to the present series; see note on l. 1.

Π ΛΟΓ CITO[  
 CΠΦ Γ . [  
 Π CI |  $\overline{\text{O}}$  Θ [  
 . . . .

1. Very possibly λέγος σίτου, in which case this is an account, not a receipt.

2. Γ.[: not Γ C |  $\overline{\text{O}}$ . Hence we cannot assume that Π in l. 3 means the 18th of the month; it may be a quantity of some commodity, *e. g.* wine.

## 365.

Next comes a series of four receipts beginning (or, in the last two cases, beginning the body of the receipt, after a name) with a specification of the *εργα* to which the consignment belongs. The present one is for 104 artabas of wheat and (or) 52 *thallia*. The date is placed at the end of the receipt proper and is followed by the clerk's signature. The estate from which

the corn came is mentioned, and probably the receipt is intended for the consignor, not for the camel-driver.

+

+ Λ ΦΟΡ/ Λ/ ΠΑΜΟΥΝ ΚΑΜΛΑ CΙ [Λ]Ρ[Τ]  
 ΡΛ ΚΑΤΟΝ ΔΕΣΑΡΕ ΘΑΛΛΑ  
 ΠΒ § ΚΤ/ ΠΑΛ ΓΙ/ CΙ ΑΡΤ ΡΑ  
 ΘΑΛΛ ΠΒ + Μ' ΜΕ ΚΑ ΙΛ/ Γ + ΔΙΟΣ  
 5 ΚΟΡΟΣ CΤΟΙΧ +

"1st convoy, by Pamoun, camel-driver: wheat, 104 = a hundred and four artabas, 52 *thallia*, for the payment (?) of Paa = wheat, 104 artabas, 52 *thallia*. Mesorê 24, 3rd indiction. Dioscorus, correct."

2. ΡΛ: 104 is wanted, and there is ink above ρ which suggests Δ; it was presumably omitted by accident and inserted later.

ΚΑΤΟΝ ΔΕΣΑΡΕ: = ἑκατὸν τέσσαρες.

ΘΑΛΛΑ: this is inferred rather than read, but it is necessary here, and there are certainly letters after ΔΕΣΑΡΕ.

3. ΠΑΛ: cf. Paa (for Paha) in B. M. 1130, and Baha, distr. of Behnesa (al-Tuhfa).

3. ΚΤ/: probably κατὰβολῆς or κτήματος. There is not very much to choose between the two, but perhaps the first is slightly the more probable. κτήματος might more likely be abbreviated as ΚΤ<sup>1</sup>.

### 366.

A receipt for 46 phorai, probably of wine. As the camel-driver only is mentioned the receipt was presumably intended for him.

+ Β ΦΟΡ' ΑΠ'Τ'ΡΗΑΣ  
 ΚΑΜΑΛΙΤΟΥ  
 ΦΟΡ/ ΜΞ

1. ΑΠ'Τ'ΡΗΑΣ: = Ἀνδρέας; written ΑΤ'ΡΗΑΣ, the clerk having inserted the omitted letter in the wrong place.



## 367.

A receipt for barley, perhaps intended for the consignor. The date comes at the end.

ΗΡΑΚΛΑΜΜ[ΩΝ  
 + Β ΦΟΡΡ̄ Λ/ [  
 Λ/ ΒΙΚΤΩΡ [  
 ΚΡΙΘ̄ ΘΑΛΛΙΑ . [  
 5 + Μ' ΠΑΥΝ̄ . [  
 . . . .

1. There is no trace of Λ/ before ΗΡΑΚΛΑΜΜ[ΩΝ, but it may have been lost. Cf. however l. 2, where Λ/ occurs. Possibly Heraclammon was the clerk; the camel-driver's name was given in l. 2. and Victor (l. 3) may be the consignor. The whole receipt is in a single hand.

2. ΦΟΡΡ̄: so written. The dots are probably intended to delete the second p.

## 368.

A receipt for wheat (44 *thallia*, 88 artabas), probably intended for the consignor.

+  
 + CΥΠΘ̄ ΦΑΣΕΙ . . [ . ]  
 // Ε̄ ΦΟΡΡ̄ Λ/ ΠΚΥΛΛΙ  
 Λ/ ΠΑΜΟΥΝ Λ/ ΊΩΔ'ΠΟΥ'  
 Λ/ ΒΙΚΤΩΡ Λ/ ΣΕΝΟΥΘ̄  
 5 ΠΚΑΜΗΛΛΙΟΥ  
 ΘΑΛΛΙΑ ΜΑ  
 ΣΙ ΔΡ'Τ ΠΗ  
 ΣΓΡ/ Μ' ΕΠΙΦ̄ ΙΓ'  
 Γ ΜΑ// +  
 +

'In God's name, Phasei . . . 5th convoy, by Pcyllius(?), by Pamoun, by John, by Victor, by Senuthius, camel-drivers(?), 44 *thallia*, 88 artabas of wheat. Written Epeiph 13, 3rd indiction."

1. Phasei, like Heraclammmon in 367, is perhaps the clerk. φασειαιε, "French beans", seems impossible.

2.  $\bar{\epsilon}$  φορρ: for a 5th convoy see 355, 4, and note.

πκγλλι: the reading of the first three letters is very uncertain, but the second is either κ or η. For the name Πωλλι cf. Πωλλιος (= Pōl, Ryl. 212) in P. Lond. IV, index. What is meant by this string of names preceded by Δ/ is not clear. We can hardly suppose that Pōl was the consignor and the others successive agents, through whose hands the consignment had passed. The others, however, or perhaps all, may be camel-drivers who had brought portions of the consignment (cf. below); John and Pamoun, at all events, are known as camel-drivers. But in that case it is strange that the names are given in this way, not connected by και.

5.  $\bar{\pi}$ καμηλλαιοΥ: possibly  $\bar{\pi}$  is to be taken as the plur. article before καμηλιων, "camel(-loads)", but it might also be the genitive particle or dative. Can the word be regarded as an attempt at καμηλιτων, by a clerk more at home in Coptic than in Greek?

6. μα: a correction. An original ρ is visible.

## 369.

This receipt is exceptional in being a tax-receipt; cf. 344. As such it is of some interest, especially as it seems to contain an allusion to the *caput* or personal unit of taxation; see the references in the note to l. 2.

+ [[κ]] + εσχ/ πασον  
 πισοοϋ & κεφ/  
 ΤΕΤΑΡΤΗΣ ΠΙΔ/ ΚΕΡ/  
 ΔΕΚΛΗΠΕΝΤΕ ΤΕ  
 5 ΤΑΡΤΟΝ ΓΙ/ Κ/ ΙΕ Δ' ΑΛΕΞ'  
 ΧΟΙΑΚ / Ζ / ΠΙΔ/ Δ.  
 & ΟΡΜΕΙΑΣ Δ/ ΚΩΝΙΣΤΑΝ  
 ΤΙΟΣ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙ ΜΟΙ + (2nd hand?) ΜΗΝΙΑΣ  
 ΑΜΑ ΜΟΥΣ[.]C ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙ +

"Received (from) brother PISOOU for (his) *caput* for the fourth indiction fifteen and a quarter carats =  $15\frac{1}{4}$  c. (of the standard) of Alexandria. Choiach 7, indiction 4, for harbour dues (?). Constantius, correct. Menas, son of Ama Mus . . . correct."

1f. ΠΑΣΟΝ ΠΙΣΟΟΥ: probably the tax-payer, the full phrase being ἔσχον παρὰ καλ.

2. ΚΕΦ/: probably κατὰ κεφαλῆς: see BELL, *Journ. Eg. Arch.*, 4 (1917), p. 95; P. Lond. V, p. 249; *Journ. Eg. Arch.* 6 (1920), p. 137.

4. ΔΕΚΑΠΕΝΤΕ: for the overlining of numerals see the instances collected in Index I (s. v. "Overlining of numerals") to P. Lond. V.

5. Α': this is required but ΑΙ/ is an easier reading and is perhaps right (going with λαεζ'), the Α' being accidentally omitted. In that case, the translation is " $15\frac{1}{4}$  c., by Alexander."

7. Ο ΟΡΜΕΙΑΣ: the ο is very uncertain, but the reading as a whole is probably correct. It is not quite clear what meaning is intended; ὀρμιά or ὀρμειά occurs as "fishing-line of horsehair" (LIDDELL and SCOTT, s. v.), but perhaps it is better here to connect the word with ὀρμος in the sense of "anchorage". Even so, however, it is uncertain how the phrase is to be connected with the context. The following character is almost certainly Α., so that this is not a separate payment, unless the amount was accidentally omitted. Was the payment ὑπὲρ κατὰ κεφαλῆς applied to defray harbour dues? It is not certain whether a new hand begins here, but the hand of Menas' subscription may well be different from what precedes.

9. ΑΜΑ ΜΟΥC [..]C: this should be a female (the mother's) name.

### 370.

This receipt is unique in beginning with the name of the camel-driver preceded by ἐ(κ). It is for a miscellaneous load, wine and vegetable seed, and is of some interest as specifying (if the explanation of ll. 5—7 suggested in the note is correct)

the quantity of each per camel-load. There are difficulties in this explanation, but it is probably correct.

+

+ Δ/ ΙΩΑΝΝΗ ΠΟ . . ΕΑΣ  
 ΚΑΜΗΛΙΤΟΥ Ἀ ΦΟΥΡΑ  
 ΜΙΚΡΑ ΚΝΙΔΙΑ ΕΚΑΤΟΙ  
 8 ΛΑΧΑΝΟΣΠΕΡΜΑ ΘΑΛΛ/  
 5 ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ΓΙ ΚΑΜΗΛΙΑ Δ  
 ΕΙΣ ΚΗΑ Ρ 8 ΚΑΜΗΛΙΑ 5  
 ΕΙΣ ΛΑΧ/ ΘΑΛΛ/ Θ ΓΡΑΦ/  
 ΜΗ ΘΩΘ Κ5 ΠΗΔ/ Δ  
 ΛΙ ΕΜΟΥ ΗΛΙΑΣ ΑΡΙ ΤΑΚ[Α]  
 10 ΠΗ ΚΑΗ Ε6Θ Π[ . . . ]  
 ΜΕ[

"By John son of (?) Po—eas, camel-driver, 1st convoy. A hundred small *cnidia*, and twelve *thallia* of vegetable seed, there being 4 camel(-loads) to 100 *cnidia* and 6 camel(-loads) to 9 *thallia* of vegetable seed. Written Thoth 26, 4th indiction, by me, Elias. (Coptic.) Be so good, even if (χῆν) you be . . ."

1. ΠΟ . . ΕΑΣ: the traces are really too indistinct for any certain reading; ΠΟΚΗΕΑΣ or ΠΟ . ΓΕΑΣ might perhaps be read, but ΠΑΡΘΕΑΣ, which might be equated with ΠΑΡΘΟΥ (121, 2, etc.; cf. too 189, 5), seems impossible.

2. ΦΟΥΡΑ: the Α at the end is very doubtful.

5. ΓΙ: very doubtful; what follows is certainly not a mere repetition of the preceding sums but seems to be a specification of the division of the quantities into camel-loads; cf., for a certain instance, 211, 6. But it is not clear why only 9 *thallia* are mentioned in l. 7. 6 loads to 9 *thallia* are  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *thallia* per load; but since there were 12 *thallia* it would have been simpler to write ΚΑΜΗΛΙΑ Η ΕΙΣ ΛΑΧ ΘΑΛΛ/ 12. In the case of the *cnidia* however the figures (100 *cn.* to 4 loads = 25 to 1) accord well with the evidence of 211, where 24 *cn.* = 1 load.

7. ΓΡΑΦ: more like ΓΡΑΦ, but ἐγράφη must be meant.

## 371.

Next come some receipts beginning with a name, whether personal or topographical. In 371 and 372 the name is of the second kind. These receipts were more probably for the camel-driver than for the consignor.

ΦΟΥΗΥ  
 ΠΑΚΩΜΕΝΟΣ :  $\overline{\Lambda}$  :  
 ΜΕΓ/  $\overline{\Sigma\Lambda}$  :  
 ΙΩΣΑΠΠΗΣ  
 5 ΚΑΜΑΛ/  
 ΜΙΚ/  $\overline{\Lambda}$  .

2. ΠΑΚΩΜΕΝΟΣ :  $\overline{\Lambda}$  : the  $\Lambda$  is a correction. Probably = ἐπαγομένων.

3.  $\overline{\Sigma\Lambda}$  : a correction.

## 372.

+ 2ΠΙC  
 ΕΠΕΦ : Β : . . .  
 ΙΩΣΑΠΠΗΣ ΚΑΜ/  
 ΟΙ/ ΜΕΓ/ :  $\Sigma\varsigma$  : ΕΚC  
 5 ΠΠ'ΤΑ 2ΗΚC  
 ΟΙ/ ΜΙΚ/ ΟΘ : ΕΥ  
 ΜΗΠΤΑ 2ΕΠ  
 ΠCΑ ΓCΩΡΓC  
 ΓΡΑΨΑ +

"Eh̄nis. Epeiph 2. John, camel-driver: wine, 66 = sixty-six large measures; wine, 79 = seventy-nine small measures. Written by George."

1. 2ΠΙC : = 2ΠΙC — Ahnâs — Heracleopolis.

2. What follows Β : is a mere scribble, perhaps meant only to fill a space.

4f. ΕΚCΗΠΤΑ 2ΗΚC : ἐξήκοντα ἑξ; so too in l. 6f. ΕΥΜΗΠΤΑ 2ΕΠΠCΑ = ἐβδομήκοντα ἐννέα. Cf. p. 17. The form ἐξήκοντα at all events was not confined to Egypt; see Ducange, s. ν.



## 373.

Here again we have an equivalence of camel-loads to cargo; cf. 370. In the case of this and the following receipt it is impossible to say who was the recipient; the persons named are not described as camel-drivers.

ⲡ ⲕⲩⲣⲓⲁⲕ/ ⲙⲟⲛⲁ  
 ⲙⲟⲧⲟⲥ ⲕⲁⲙⲙⲁ/ ⲥ  
 ⲟⲓ/ ⲕⲟⲗ/ ⲣⲁⲓ  
 ⲉⲕⲁⲧⲟⲛ [[ⲗ . .]]  
 5      ⲧⲣⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛⲧⲁ  
       ⲧⲣⲓⲁ ⲛ

"Cyriacus, monk: 6 camel(-loads), 133 = a hundred and thirty three — of wine."

1 f. ⲙⲟⲛⲁⲙⲟⲧⲟⲥ: = ⲙⲟⲛⲁⲕⲥⲱⲛ.

2. ⲕⲁⲙⲙⲁ/ ⲥ: the reading is certain; not ⲕⲁⲙⲙⲁⲓⲧ/.

3. ⲕⲟⲗ/: not ⲕⲛ(ⲓⲃⲓⲁ), though the o is very doubtful; but ⲕⲟⲗ/ seems possible. ⲕⲥⲗⲗⲁⲑⲟⲛ, ⲕⲥⲗⲥⲫⲱⲛⲓⲥⲟⲛ and ⲕⲥⲗⲥⲃⲟⲛ (cf. 381) are all possible extensions. ⲕⲥⲗⲗⲁⲑⲟⲛ is most frequently a dry measure, but in 136 it is found along with measures regularly used for wine.

ⲣⲁⲓ: ⲁⲓ is a correction from ⲥ.

## 374.

ⲡ ⲡⲁⲡⲡⲟⲩⲟⲩ ...  
 ⲱⲃⲛⲛⲓⲉ ⲙⲟⲣ/  
 ⲛⲓⲓ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲓⲕⲟⲛ[ⲧⲁ]  
 ⲧⲣⲓⲥ ⲉⲓⲣⲁⲫ  
                   ⲛ  
 5      ⲟⲱⲟ ⲓⲟ ⲉ  
                   ⲛⲁⲗ/

1. ⲡⲁⲡⲡⲟⲩⲟⲩ ...: on the right side of the ostrakon the ink is in each line very faint, and it is impossible here to say whether ⲡⲁⲡⲡⲟⲩⲟⲩⲟⲩ or ⲡⲁⲡⲡⲟⲩⲟⲩⲟⲥ was written.

2. ΜΟΡ/ : ΩΡΗΝΕ = "palm-fibre" (σεβέννιον; see 104, note); hence ΜΟΡ/ may = ΜΟΥΡ, "bundle" (148, etc.), or ΜΑΙΡΕ, of the same meaning (184), etc.

3. ΠΕΝΗΚΟΝ[ΤΑ] : *sic*.

5. Ε : extremely doubtful.

## Fragmentary and Uncertain Documents.

375.

+ †[                    ]<sup>λλ</sup> Α ΕΤΟΥΒ ΠΕΒΕΣΤ 2[ΙΤΗ  
 ΙΩΤΑΤΟΣ ΠΠΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΑΠΑ ΕΥΝΟΜ[ΙΟΣ  
 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΥΤ ΘΩΜΑΣ ΠΑΙΟΙΚΗΤΗ[  
 ΜΠΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΤΟΥΛΛΒ [  
 5 ΠΑΠΑ ΘΩΜΑΣ ΖΙΤΠΠΜΑΙ[ΠΟΥΤΕ  
 ΠΕΠΡΟΕΣΤΩΣ ΜΠΑΠΑ[  
 ΠΜΕΣΠΝΑΛΥ ΛΥΩ[

Beginning of a document addressed to the monastery of Apa Thomas by a bishop.

"The holy [ (1) of Sbeht, [through? the] most saintly bishop (2), Apa Eunom[ius . . . .], through me, Thomas, the overseer(3), [writes to] the holy monastery [of the Rock] [5] of Apa Thomas, through the pious [. . . .], the prior, and Apa [. . . .], the second-in-authority(4) and[ "

(1) Perhaps πέτρα.

(2) Presumably bishop of Sbeht (Apollinopolis Parva), in whose diocese the monastery of Thomas presumably lay.

(3) On ecclesiastical διοικηταί v. GELZER's *Leontios* 122, STEINWENTER in WESSELY's *Stud.* XIX, 35 ff. Διοικητής of a monastery, *Vita Sabae* POMIALOWSKY 130, 194, 214, 246; identical with ἡγούμενος *ib.* 204, or archdeacon, WESSELY *P. Kl. Form.* no. 271 b. In Coptic, Ryl. 116.

(4) The δευτεράριος (which the Coptic here translates) is met in Middle Egypt, *e. g.*, at White Monastery, *Miss.* IV 64, ΛΕΥΤΟΛΑΡΙΟΣ, BM. 154, 489; or further north, Ryl. 224, *Ann. du Serv.* VIII 94; but apparently not at Thebes, CO. p. XIX. A liturgical fragt. belonging to S. DE RICCI makes προστώ; in the Greek correspond to δευτεράριος; in the Coptic translation.

376.

+  
 + ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ ΠΟΙΚ<sup>ο</sup>/

ΣΙΤΟΟΤ ΔΙΟΚ ΔΙΟΣΚ

ΟΡΟΣ ΠΕΦΗΡΕ ΠΕ

ΣΣΑΙ ΜΠΑΣΟΝ ΑΠΑ

5 ]ΑΠΑ Ι[

"Stephen it is, the steward, through me, Dioscorus his son(1), who writes to my brother Apa [. . . . and] Apa I["

377.

]ΣΩΤ[

]ΤΕ ΛΙΤΡΑ ΠΚΑΘΑΡΟΝ

]ΠΕΚΑΛΑΦΑΤΗΣ

]ΑΥΩ ΑΥΧΟΟΥ

5 ]† ΟΥΠΑΣΕ ΠΑΙ

]Ε ΣΗΤΑΡΩΕ

]Ο ΝΣΕΚΑΤΕ

]ΚΟΠΕ

Fragment in which 2 (*or* 3) *litra* of "pure" (? wine) are mentioned; also the "ship-caulkers"(2) and possibly (1. 7) "the potters"(3).

378.

]?

ΠΑ]ΠΠΟΥΤΕ

ΦΟ]ΙΒΑΜΜΩΝ

† ΠΞΗΣΤΕ ΠΠΕΣ

5 Σ]ΟΝ ΕΝΩΧ ΠΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ

]ΤΕ +

. . .] Papnoute [. . . .] Phoebammon [. . . .] *xestes* of oil  
 [. . . my] brother Enoch, the steward [

(1) Dioscorus acts as scribe. In 92 probably the same Stephen appears to write himself.

(2) Cf. P. Lond. IV 1391; also a Balaiza fragt.

(3) Cf. 178-n.

379.

+ ΑΝΟΚ[  
 ]ΠΡΗΤΜΟΥ[  
 ]ΣΠΩΡΗ 2[  
 ].ΘΕΟΦΙΛ[  
 5 ]ΠΤΠΕΡΩ[  
 ]ΛΟΓΕΙ ΕΡ[  
 Π]ΡΩΤΟΣ[

A deed of some kind, possibly a declaration (l. 6 ? ἐμελε-  
 γειν). L. 2 shows a place-name, Tmo[u(1)]; l. 3 another, Pôrf,  
 found in 132 and elsewhere(2).

380.

The following ostraca are all probably receipts. The pre-  
 sent one seems to have been of the type: Date; place-name;  
 amount of wine; name of camel-driver. The latter is Enoch  
 (see 307—313 above).

. . . . .  
 Κ[  
 ΟΙ/ ΜΕ[Γ/]  
 ΚΟΥΛΗΥ :  
 ΟΙ/ ΜΙΚ/ : ΜΕ :  
 5 ΕΠΩΧ ΚΑΝΑ/

1. Κ[ : less likely Η[.

(1) Cf. 286, though it may here be abbreviated from Tmounsīm (v. In-  
 dex), or another of the many names so formed.

(2) Cf. Ryl. 111, 120; and as Pôrb, in a Balaiza fragment, and perhaps  
 [P]ôref, CLÉDAT, *Baouit* 1 47.

## 381.

? ΜΟΝ]ΛΖ/  
 ΟΙ/] ΚΟΛΟΒ/ ΕΚΑΤΟΝ  
 ]Ι/ ΟΙ/ ΚΟΛ/ ΡΙΒ Μ/ ΕΓΡ<sup>Α</sup>/  
 ]ΧΓ ΤΑ ΠΟΙΟΥΝΤΑ  
 5       ] ΠΕΝΤΕ  
           ].ΕΛΛΑΧ/ ΣΤΟΙΧ/ ΕΓΡ<sup>Α</sup>  
           ]

1. It is not certain whether this was the first line.

2. ΚΟΛΟΒ/ : see General Introduction, Metrology.

3. ]Ι/ : or ϵ (= ὑπέρ), in which case ϵ ΟΙ/] may perhaps be read in l. 2; but (ὑπέρ) would seem to imply a money-payment ("in lieu of"), and we do not elsewhere get the conversion of wine into money in these ostraca. More probably we should read [ΔΩΔΕΚΑ Γ]Ι/.

4. ]ΧΓ : the χ is not certain (ϵ is possible), and the amount is rather large, but sums of 100 and 112 occur above.

## 382.

}...[ .  
 ]ΟΙ/ ΦΟΡ/ ΚΑ. CΙ[|<sup>Ο</sup>  
 ]ΡΛΧ Δ/ ΓΕΩΡΓΕ [ ,  
 ] ΟΙ/ ΜΙΚ/ Θ ΓΙ/ ΚΕ[

2. ΚΑ. : or, less likely, ΚΛ.

4. Θ : or Λ, but Θ is more likely.

## 383.

]...[...][  
 Δ/ ΤΕΩΗ ΚΛ/ ΠΛ[ΡΟΟΥ  
 ΟΩΘ/ Σ ΙΑΚΥΒΙ[ΟΥ  
 ΟΙ/ ΦΟΡ/ ΛΒ : Μ[/  
 5       ]ΟΗ[



2. τεωη : l. τεωηη; cf. 355, etc. The omission of the η is no doubt accidental.

5. ]οηη[ : perhaps οηη// = οἷον. Less likely παμ]ογη[.

## 384.

].C.K.C.Y.C

]ΗΗΚ/ CΠ[

]ΛΛΚ/ ΡΛ[

]ΛΗ[

1. C.K.C.Y.C : doubtful, but fairly probable. It might be possible (though it is less likely) to read η]C.C.Y.C, but the name is elsewhere ηC.C.Y. or ηC.C.E. The big coarse hand of this ostrakon is different both from that of the series beginning οπρ/ ηC.C.Y. and from the most usual hand of the receipts beginning with a date.

## 385.

]Λ

ΙΩ]ΑΗΝΩ ΠΑΡΟΟΥ

Ο]ΚΤΩ +

For this John cf. 121, 2.

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n. = note, or other discussion.

\* = occurs more than once.

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